



THE UNIVERSITY *of* EDINBURGH

This thesis has been submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for a postgraduate degree (e.g. PhD, MPhil, DClinPsychol) at the University of Edinburgh. Please note the following terms and conditions of use:

- This work is protected by copyright and other intellectual property rights, which are retained by the thesis author, unless otherwise stated.
- A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge.
- This thesis cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author.
- The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author.
- When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given.

Mediated metadiscourse: Print media on anglicisms in post-Soviet Russian

Gesine Strengé

**Ph. D.
The University of Edinburgh
2012**

Declaration

I declare that this thesis has been composed by myself,
and the research on which it is based is my own work.

Gesine Strengé

Abstract

This study examines attitudes towards anglicisms in Russian expressed in print media articles. Accelerated linguistic borrowing from English, a particularly visible aspect of the momentous language changes after the breakdown of the Soviet Union, has engendered a range of reactions. Print media articles spanning two decades and several central outlets are analysed to show how arguments for or against use of anglicisms are constructed, what language ideologies these arguments serve, and whether mediated language attitudes changed during the post-Soviet era. A summary of the history of Russian linguistic borrowing and language attitudes from the Middle Ages to the present day shows that periods of national consolidation provoked demands for the restriction of borrowing. Then, a survey of theories on language ideologies demonstrates that they function through the construction of commonsense argumentation in metadiscourse (talk about talk). This argumentation draws on accepted common knowledge in the Russian linguistic culture. Using critical discourse analytic tools, namely analysis of metaphor scenarios and of argumentation, I examine argumentative strategies in the mediated language debates. Particularly, the critical analysis reveals what strategies render dominant standpoints on anglicisms self-evident and logical to the audience. The results show that the media reaction to anglicisms dramatises language change in discourses of threat, justified by assumed commonsense rational knowledge. Whilst there are few reactions in the 1990s, debates on language intensified in the 2000s after Putin's policies of state reinforcement came into effect, peaking around times of official language policy measures. Anglicisms and their users are subordinated, cast out as the Other, not belonging to the in-group of sensible speakers. This threat is defused via ridicule and claiming of the moral high ground. This commonsense argumentation ultimately supports notions of Russian as a static, sacred component of Russian nation building, and of speakers as passive. Close textual analysis shows that even articles claiming to support language change and the use of anglicisms use argumentation strategies of negativisation. Overall, a consensus on the character and role of the Russian language exists between all perspectives, emphasising the importance of rules and assigning speakers a passive role throughout.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost I would like to thank my primary supervisor Lara Ryazanova-Clarke for her guidance, inspiration and support at all times. I am also grateful for the contribution of my secondary supervisors Alexandra Smith and John Joseph.

I am grateful to the Centre for Russian, Central and East European Studies (CRCEES) for their sponsorship as well as for the inspiring scholarly community they provide. The same applies to the 'Russian in Context' research group in Edinburgh, and the FORUM Journal of the School of Languages, Literatures and Cultures at Edinburgh.

Several administrators have gone above and beyond the call of duty to assist me in day-to-day administrative matters – special thanks to Ann Mulholland, Kirsty Woomble and the late Joanne Cockburn, who is very much missed.

Heartfelt thanks to a number of people who have supplied hard-to-access material or given invaluable feedback: Dan Argent, Heike Behle, Clare Bielby, Varia Christie, Tommaso Milani, Martin Paulsen, Samantha Sherry, Niels Strengé and Irene Strengé. They range from close friends to complete strangers who have spent time and effort to supply material I required. I am deeply grateful to them all.

For their constant support, friendship and encouragement, I would like to thank my family, and my friends Alison, Ana, Hanna, Iona, Jack, John, Jürgen, Kim, Lara, Michael, Nikki, Paul, Silvia and Sonja. Greatest thanks of all go to Dan.

Contents

List of tables and figures	vii
Introduction	1
1. Metadiscourse on anglicisms in Russian print media	1
2. Language, identity and folk linguistics	3
3. Russian language, culture and the nation	5
4. Language attitudes and the self	11
5. Research questions	12
6. Media and discourse	13
7. Analysing discourse	16
8. Dissertation outline	21
Chapter 1: Linguistic borrowing in Russian and the reception of foreignisms.....	25
1. Introduction	25
2. Linguistic Borrowing – Theoretical Approaches	26
3. Linguistic borrowing from English – first contacts to the revolution	35
4. Linguistic borrowing and language ideology under Soviet rule	40
5. Linguistic borrowing – perestroika to present day	45
6. Summary	55
Chapter 2: Linguistic Culture and Metadiscourse.....	59
1. Introduction	59
2. Research on the reception of language change	61
3. Language ideology	64
4. Language policy	71
5. Language policy and linguistic culture	74
6. Metadiscourse	76
7. Metadiscourse and the Media	81
8. Conclusions	86
Chapter 3: Methods for analysing metadiscourse on foreignisms	89
1. Linguistic ideologies in discourse	89
2. Folklinguistics and group knowledge	91
3. Analysing metaphor	96
4. Argumentation strategies	105
5. Analysing Russian print media	114
6. Conclusion	122
Chapter 4: Images of language.....	124
1. Introduction	124
2. Metaphor scenarios of anglicisms and language change	126
3. Conclusion	154
Chapter 5: Folklinguistic argumentation and language subordination	158
1. Introduction	158
2. Language attitudes and subordination.....	160

3. Analysis.....	164
4. Metadiscourse over time and across publications.....	230
5. Summary	244
Conclusion	250
1. Ideologies and authority in metadiscourse.....	252
2. Metadiscourse over time	258
3. Nominalist and realist models of language today	260
4. Argumentative strategies in online metadiscourse.....	263
5. Suggestions for future work.....	268
6. Summary	269
Works Cited	273
Appendix 1: List of articles.....	292
Appendix 2: List of online examples	299

List of tables and figures

Table 1: Types of Linguistic Borrowing.....	30
Table 2: The Development of Linguistic Borrowing.....	56
Table 3: Argumentation Strategies	113
Table 4: Metaphors by publication summary.....	127
Table 5: Metaphor scenarios language = human	129
Table 6: Language = Person.....	133
Table 7: Language change = Illness.....	137
Table 8: Metaphor scenarios of nature.....	139
Table 9: Metaphors of nature summary	145
Table 10: Metaphor scenarios of war and aggression.....	146
Table 11: Metaphors of war and aggression summary	150
Table 12: Summary of argumentation strategies	165
Table 13: Constructing the Russian language.....	167
Table 14: Constructing language change	187
Table 15: Description of anglicisms	199
Table 16: The construction of speakers	202
Table 17: Coverage of anglicisms.....	230
Table 18: Argumenty i Fakty	231
Table 19: Izvestiia	233
Table 20: Kommersant.....	234
Table 21: Literaturnaia Gazeta.....	236
Table 22: Moskovskie Novosti	237
Table 23: Nezavisimaia Gazeta.....	238
Table 24: Novaia Gazeta.....	240
Table 25: Ogonek.....	241
Table 26: Pravda	242
Table 27: Rossiiskaia Gazeta	243
Figure 1: Language according to the expert view	94
Figure 2: Language according to the folk view	95
Figure 4: Metaphor blend LANGUAGE CHANGE = DIGESTION	132
Figure 5: Metaphor blend LANGUAGE CHANGE = FLOOD	144
Figure 6: Metaphor blend LANGUAGE POLICY = BATTLE	149
Figure 7: Folklinguistic view of language	162

Introduction

1. Metadiscourse on anglicisms in Russian print media

Changes in the post-Soviet Russian language have provoked heated debates that range far beyond questions of linguistic choices. The proliferation of borrowed foreign words, particularly English lexis in Russian is connected to issues of national consolidation, selfhood and self-definition. This thesis examines the treatment of anglicisms in the Russian print media in the years since the breakdown of the Soviet Union. The focus of the work is on questions of language ideology in folklinguistic beliefs, how folklinguistic knowledge is instrumentalised and to what effect, and how language debates change. To this end, I analyse metadiscourse – debates about language – with regard to foreign borrowings in print media texts from 1992 to 2009.

This analytical overview of the Russian print media debate on foreignisms is unique in several ways. Firstly, the study spans almost two decades rather than taking a snapshot of attitudes at one time (like e.g. Romanov 2000). Secondly, I focus not on the borrowing process or the characteristics and behaviour of borrowed words, but on the reactions that they engender. Furthermore, this study relies on detailed textual analysis, taking an approach that reveals how metadiscursive arguments are structured and how seemingly common sense, obvious statements about language are used to perpetuate linguistic ideologies in the media. As a nexus of intertextual activity, the print media quote and adapt statements about language from other sources and function as a potential distributor of both dominant and heretical viewpoints.

The contribution of this work to existing scholarship and knowledge is a detailed textual study on the reception of foreign words in Russian. The following review of literature summarises how previous literature has treated this area and what gaps remain.

There are some works on general post-Soviet language change in Russian, most notably Zybatow's edited volume (2000), and other histories of Russian (Ryazanova-

Clarke & Wade 1999). The literature on foreignisms in Russian mostly focuses on taxonomies of foreignisms or aims to establish their origins and when they entered the language. Works focus on different distinct periods, for example Benson's (1959) article on the impact of English on post-war Russian, Whittall's (1985) study of nautical loanwords in the 18th century, Rathmayr's (1991) work on foreignisms in Russian during Perestroika, or several works on anglicisms and English influence in post-Perestroika and contemporary Russian (Dunn 2000, Holland 2007, Steinke 2006, Eddy 2007, Proshina & Etkin 2005, Janurik 2010). These studies also examine which domains words are imported from and how borrowed words are changed in the language. The authors listed above have, however, not dealt with attitudes or only mentioned them in passing. Some, like Chachibaia and Colenso (2005), feature metadiscourse and judgments on anglicisms in Russian that are problematic for the non-evaluating position maintained in this work, as they brand certain anglicisms as superfluous or modish.

Systematic studies of attitudes towards features other than socially or regionally varying factors are not numerous, especially as regards Russian language attitudes. For reasons laid out in chapter 1 (4.5.), studies of language attitudes were not acceptable during Soviet times. Much work on foreignisms deals with adaptation and grammar but ignores attitudes and social background, in stark opposition to the abundance of folk discourse on these matters (although Russian academia constitutes a special case, where prescriptive attitudes towards linguistic phenomena are given room). Only limited post-perestroika work on foreignisms and attitudes towards them has been carried out. Most notably here is Romanov's 2000 study which gives a detailed history of anglicisms in Russian and their scholarly reception. Romanov includes a survey on attitudes towards foreignisms; this small scale but enlightening study is described in detail in chapter 1.

Language attitude research often focuses on dialect and accent, e.g. in Niedzielski & Preston (1999), or attitudes towards different languages in bilingual contexts (Garrett et al 2003), rather than the reception of foreign loanwords. Spitzmüller's studies of the reception of anglicisms in the German language are closer to my work, but much of Spitzmüller's research focuses on the disparities between academic linguists'

perception of anglicisms, and lay metadiscourse on anglicisms. As laid out above, this distinction is problematic in the Russian context. This work can contribute insights into how folk linguistic processes operate in a context where arguably the folk includes everyone.

As regards the Russian context and language attitudes, this work is closely related to the research of Gorham (2009, 2006, 2000) and Ryazanova-Clarke (2008, 2006a, 2006b). Gorham's studies of language culture and language reactions do mention anglicisms, as does Ryazanova-Clarke, most notably in the study of linguistic culture in Putin's Russia (2006). My work contributes to these studies by giving an overview of the reception of anglicisms as one focused area, and also analyses a larger body of metadiscourse over a period of time. While Romanov's work mentioned above has studied the reception of anglicisms, the analysis of metadiscourse over two decades carried out in this work can show trends of language debate in a different way from a one-off survey. Even a well-designed survey can only give a snapshot of linguistic attitudes, whereas the analysis of printed discourse can give a more complete idea of how anglicisms are talked about over time, what stock expressions and key metaphors are used, and in general what place foreignisms occupy in the linguistic culture and language attitudes (see also Thurlow 2006).

2. Language, identity and folk linguistics

The textual analysis of discourse is grounded in the widely accepted view that nothing is outside language. Language is not a separate, purely referential tool for describing objects and processes neutrally. Instead, language constructs that which it describes, and itself constitutes an important instrument for change. Identity is now seen as central to language rather than a mere byproduct of communication, as identity study moved from essentialism (a pre-given identity is expressed in language) to constructionism (identities are constructed in language) (Joseph 2004: 41f). Notoriously loaded concepts like discourse and ideology, central to this work, have numerous interpretations precisely because they describe complex social processes. Language is an intrinsic part of individual as well as group identity and

has been philosophised about for as long as language has existed. Speakers attach great significance to languages, viewed as separate entities and couched in myths about their origin, existence and role. For example, language myths connect characteristics of it to its speakers. According to Roy Harris (1981: 9f), the folklinguistic perception of the connection between language and reality has produced a myth of language as a fixed code, where one word stands for one idea. When individuals subscribe to myths about the fixed code, it is easy to see why anglicisms may irritate them. Anglicisms can in folklinguistic argumentation be considered absolutely superfluous, because they ‘stand’ for nothing that the Russian language cannot express itself. The metadiscourse defends this idea most vehemently. Foreign words, borrowed into a language, always invite comment by virtue of their exotic, foreign nature. They can fascinate and carry prestige, but also provoke negative reactions and rejection when they are perceived as a challenge to native linguistic material, because reactions to foreign words are intimately connected to group identities and selfhood. As language attitudes are indicative of general social tendencies, language debates can reveal general trends in identity construction in a culture. Debates about language can be used to construct groups of insiders and outsiders – those who speak correctly and those who do not. By pronouncing such judgments, metadiscourse can be instrumentalised to justify exclusion and the disadvantaging of a group of speakers. At the same time, metadiscourse has the capacity to appear as an innocuous debate about nothing but language, based on universally known facts. This makes metadiscourse a particularly powerful carrier of dominant ideologies that are masked as common sense. This metadiscursive plane is a tool to negotiate the rules of communication and delineate who belongs to a group and who belongs to the outside.

These reactions constitute a part of the processes of folk linguistics. Folk linguistics, as defined by Preston (2004: 75), is understood as the body of folk beliefs on language, usually including postulations on what constitutes good or bad language. Preston posits folk linguistics in opposition to scholarly beliefs about the character of language, which he conceives as descriptive and non-evaluative. As this work shows (see e.g. chapter 1, 5.2.1.; 5.3. chapter 5, 3.4.1.2.), this distinction does not apply

universally in the Russian metadiscourse. Indeed, Paulsen in his study of literary metadiscourse (2009) rejects the term folk linguistics as he considers the distinction between folk and expert linguistics blurry, and that an a priori line between expert and folk attitudes and discourses on language cannot be drawn (2009: 64). However, I use Preston's term, as the metadiscourse is evaluative folk discourse, even if the "folk" of this studies includes groups of people not listed by Preston. Therefore, I define folk linguistics as linguistic beliefs with an evaluative component, here also integrating Cameron's concept of verbal hygiene (see chapter 2, 6.2.).

The introduction to the thesis gives a background of the development of language theorising in Russia and traces the history of the connection between nationalism and language in Russia. I explain how work on language attitudes and ideology comes to bear on this study. Language ideologies are defined as "beliefs, feelings and conceptions about language structure and use which often index the political economic interest of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation states. These conceptions, whether explicitly articulated or embodied in communicative practice, represent incomplete, or 'partially successful', attempts to rationalize language usage." (Kroskrity 2010: 192) The key characteristic of language ideologies is their appearance of commonsense. Language ideology governs what is considered good language and why, but this ideology appears as common sense, factual and universally accepted knowledge. After the survey of work on language attitudes, I present the research questions that have resulted for this study and give details how these research questions will be addressed. The last section provides an outline of my argument and the structure of this work.

3. Russian language, culture and the nation

This section gives a short background of Russian language thought, showing that language philosophising and theorising has been connected to issues of nationhood for centuries. This background is examined because historic thinking on language forms part of the Russian linguistic culture, which still bears upon present-day

thinking on language. Linguistic culture (discussed in detail in chapter 2) means the backdrop of assumptions about the characteristics and role of a language that count as factual knowledge in a language culture. This history of general assumptions on language and the self in Russia, complemented by a history of borrowing in Russia in chapter 1, shows what strategies have been used before to portray foreignisms and how attitudes were shaped. The analytical chapter can then refer to this background and establish whether, and if so, how the historical background is reflected in metadiscourse in current times.

3.1. Two traditions

Language debates in terms of the nation in Russia can be traced to nineteenth century discussions about the nature of Russian. The rise of thought linking nation and language originates in 19th century German Romantic nationalism. Philosophers such as Humboldt, Fichte and Herder linked ethnicity to culture, and claimed that a people was defined by language, blood and soil, and that these factors were inextricably linked (Coulmas 1997: 55, Nerlich 2009: 175). These ideas then have been established as an ingredient in ideologies that link language and nation overall. Billig states in his seminal work *Banal Nationalism* (1995: 29f) that the support of a national language is a part of nationalism. This link was not always accepted as obvious. The debates about the Russian language formed part of a more general tension between the so-called Slavophiles and Westerners who were arguing whether Russia should take the West as a model, or find a specifically ‘Slavic’ mode of existence. Essentially, the Slavophiles thought that the Russian language contains a particular essence of the nation and should not be tampered with. The Westerners, on the contrary, viewed such patriotism as outdated and were not opposed to foreign words. Two contradictory ideologies emerged: Russian as a sacred, immovable language expressing the essence of what it means to be Russian, and on the other side the Russian of ordinary people, a language that serves communication and is to be respected (Cubberley 1993: 258). Taking a stance in the language question was no small factor in defining whether one was a Slavophile or the Westerner, as language issues were connected closely to questions of national identity (Gorham 2009: 170).

These debates occupied the intellectual circles a great deal at the time (see chapter 1, 3.3. for more detail).

The opposed views of the nature of language are also expressed in terms of utility of the language on the one hand, and of language as expressing mentality on the other. Gasparov (2004) detects two historical approaches to language and identity in Russia, the nominalist and the realist tradition. The nominalist view considers language a tool which is shaped and constantly adapting according to the changing needs that it serves. The realist perspective considers language as embodying its speakers' communal mentality and culture, containing fundamental characteristics expressive of national character (2004: 132). The opposition between the nominalist and realist view can be traced through to present-day language debate. The realist view interpreted structural differences between Russian and Western languages as signs of the unique Russian national character that found expression in the grammatical structure of the language. The nominalist view emphasises the need for communicative suitability of the language. The two viewpoints are still defended today, but not necessarily in opposition to each other, as they can also be combined, for example in nationalist language debates. Foreign borrowings with their connotations of influence from another country are dealt with by both traditions. On the one hand, the foreign, potentially unintelligible nature of borrowings can become a target of nominalist discourses. The realist perspective, on the other side, debates whether the foreign influence will alter the Russian system itself and impede its expressiveness of the Russian character. This study shows how views of the utility or expressiveness of a language are applied to issues of foreign language material in Russian. Divisions and boundaries between East and West negotiated in the past still influence oppositions today: "Soviet and Euro-American cultures of position are today overlaid upon more well known imaginative geographies that were first developed in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century colonial discourses." (Brennan 2001: 39f) The next section shows how language thinking of the early 20th century was overlaid over the 19th century traditions of thinking about language.

3.2. Language culture

In the early 20th century, thought on the role of language and its uses surfaced in a different, but related form. Linguistic interest in language culture, or *kul'tura iazyka* (this concept will be discussed further in chapter 1, 4.5.), recalls the nominalist tradition that views language as a tool for communication and understanding. The history of the concept of language culture and speech is indicative of how theorisation on language developed in Russia in the 20th century and beyond. In the 1920s, linguists looked at language as an instrument of creativity that would be a key revolutionary force and therefore must itself be renewed entirely. Grigorii Vinokur, one of the key figures in this tradition, considered language “a technology that is rightly the object of human engineering, rather than an organic and essential precursor to human identity.” (Gorham 2010: 139) But this view of language was soon replaced by a different perspective. Notions of Russian as connected to selfhood and shaping the future were steered in a different direction within Marxist linguistics. Here the predominant view was that language belonged to the superstructure and would therefore change once the economic base was changed. Stalin, however, cut short work on these theories and withdrew his support for their main proponent, Nikolai Marr. In his own writing on language, Stalin (1950) refuted Marr's theories, including his theory of language evolution and change, and stated that certain aspects of language are immutable. The term language culture or speech culture from that time onwards signified learning and teaching to speak correctly. Codification of and adherence to the Russian language norms was given prime importance, and deviation was unacceptable. Gorham traces how the initial creativity and novelty of the concept of language culture and speech culture eventually became a fixed part of establishment thought on language with an emphasis on codified norms. He finds that the “quiet conservatism of the practitioners” enabled the existence of this dominant linguistic ideology (Gorham 2010: 141), as teachers and ideologues strove to impose order.

In summary, like 19th century nationalist discourses on language, the tradition of *kul'tura iazyka* has two facets: Firstly renewal of the language to make it fit for revolutionary purposes, and then later the notion of language as a set of strictly enforced norms. Gorham observes that the large amount of cultural capital that the

second interpretation of language culture held during Stalin's rule is still influencing language debate in the present day. Nowadays the same discourses linking language and nation and selfhood are surfacing, leading to a debate about the role of Russian and how the language can be best shaped for its functions, and casting speakers in a passive, obedient role.

In the early 21st century a strong tradition of linking the language to the self has been revived. It includes theories of key words and linguistic maps of the world that seek to explain Russian grammatical categories and how they influence Russian speakers' perception of the world. In his review of literature on this subject in the 2000s, Khairov explains that this metadiscourse in Russian is multifaceted: "Here we can find mutual influence of different genres, an exchange with evaluations, images (metaphors) for the creation of a portrait of the language (a description of its character). Here, interdisciplinary and interdiscursive areas and their epistemological arsenals (repertoires) appear: terms, metaphor, means of argumentation etc." (Khairov 2003: 3, translation my own) Khairov summarises the renewed interest in the link between language and culture in Russia in his writing on linguistic imageology. Linguistic imageology involves the personification of languages, the projection of a language's characteristics onto the speakers and vice versa. Linguistic units are considered to give clues about the national character and culture (Khairov 2003: 2). Khairov distinguishes three types of linguistic imageology thought in the Slavonic world (2003: 5):

1. Unilingual, concentrating on the history of a single language
2. The study of Slavic languages and their differences
3. The study of differences between different language cultures, for example Russian language and English language / Preserving through language the Russian mentality versus the 'anglomentality'

The third kind of linguistic imageology is relevant for this work, as foreignisms can be considered to bring a foreign mentality into the Russian language. Reactions to English borrowed words can thus contribute to how the link between language and culture is conceptualised in metadiscourse. Nationalism plays an increasingly important role in contemporary Russia especially as regards differentiating itself

from the west (Duncan 2005: 287), and anglicisms are obvious Western markers. Nationalist tendencies need to be taken into account especially in reactions about foreignisms, as a desire to establish a boundary between Russia and the West can of course make a significant contribution to negative reactions towards foreignisms.

Language is an important ingredient in debates on nationhood and has been instrumentalised in recent years as a potent symbol of nation: Language now serves as one of the nation's and the state's major symbols of power (Ryazanova-Clarke 2006: 39). Language is a vital symbol not only in cultures where national language may be contested, but also in a language culture like Russian where the role of the national language is not in dispute at all. Billig claims that the study of nationalism has previously focused on strongly asserted nationalism of small minorities and ignored banal nationalism that is naturalised and made an unnoticeable part of the everyday existence. Anderson in his important work *Imagined Communities* (1991) argues that a nation is a product of imagining and that language is an intrinsic part of the process. However, pre-existing nationalist tendencies can also manifest themselves in language policy and thought. Joseph (2004) partly disagrees with Anderson's view of how languages shape national identity, because according to him Anderson does not pay enough attention to how national agendas might shape language and language use: "Anderson's constructionist approach to nationalism is purchased at the price of an essentialist outlook on languages." (2004: 124) In Joseph's view, language and nation can sustain each other. The socio-political situation of the time also has an effect on language development and language attitudes. For example, the stronger emphasis on state control and nation building in the 2000s in Russia had an effect on language policy and language debates, while in turn language debates can sustain and naturalise nationalist discourses.

Speakers use language not only as a means to describe, theorise on and interpret their lifeworld, but also perceive language as a significant constituent, even defining part of their lifeworld and identity. Silverstein first mentioned this in his seminal study of linguistic ideology, when he showed that speakers use features of their language to theorise upon what they are like as people. Russian thought on the link between

language, culture, and the world view of speakers is driven by particular linguistic ideologies, as exemplified by the work on the linguistic image of the world and the culture of language. Speakers have a particular notion of what their language is like and what it says about them both as individuals and as a (imagined) community (Anderson, see above). Metadiscourse dealing with foreignisms both builds upon and furthers and perpetuates this knowledge, by making it commonsensical, factual knowledge that is shared by everyone. The naturalisation of language issues are a particular focus in this thesis. This naturalisation will be examined using theories of Bourdieu (1990, 1991) about linguistic capital and the hierarchisation of languages for social reasons rather than anything intrinsic in the language.

4. Language attitudes and the self

Metadiscourse also contains a strongly evaluative element, which measures parameters such as whether a word is considered to ‘belong’ or to be foreign and whether it sounds ‘good’. Such categories are arbitrary, but command great credence. Assessing whether a language is ‘usable’, or ‘pretty’, or whether it expresses the right things and what its role ought to be, has a long history, as was shown. The study of language attitudes is an interdisciplinary field of research, fitting into the broad area of studies of the social function of language (for overviews see Garrett et al 2003, Gallois 2009). Trudgill (2000: 2) gives two social functions of language: “first, the function of language in establishing social relationships, and, second, the role played by language in conveying information about the speaker.” The way someone speaks conveys information about them; others then make judgments about the language used, but are in fact evaluating the information that the individual's language signals about their intelligence, social identity etc. Language attitudes hide social attitudes behind commonsense argumentation: “Language attitudes stand proxy for a much more comprehensive set of social and political attitudes, including stances strongly tinged with authoritarianism, but often presented as 'common sense'.” (Milroy & Milroy 1999: 45f) Individuals feel qualified to theorise on

language and interpret other people's utterances about language, because as competent speakers they can claim authority on linguistic processes.

Foreignisms are very obvious markers of someone's speech or writing, and attitudes towards them have been voiced vehemently throughout Russian history, especially in the last two decades. Metadiscourse on language is often heated as people defend their group identity, their upbringing, and way of life. They are used to authenticate groups and to delineate the self. Linguistic purism is defined as the desire to close the language off to outside influences and regain a connection to a purportedly pure, original source of language. Purism serves self-preservation agendas: "The politics of purity and exclusion originates in the quest for the identity and authenticity of a cultural Self that feels threatened by the hegemonic presence of another culture which may or may not be in a core position vis-a-vis the struggling Self." (Hennigsen 1989: 32) Strong rejection of foreign words is a marker of purist attitudes.

The following research questions summarise which questions on the metadiscourse about foreignisms this work focuses on.

5. Research questions

Previous research on language attitudes, and also the development of linguistic philosophical traditions in Russia summarised above, lead to research questions regarding metadiscourse on foreignisms. There is a diverse and complex background to present language debates, formed by the above mentioned long tradition of language debate in Russia, Soviet linguistic conservatism that reigned for decades, the sudden breaking up of the Soviet Union with its unprecedented linguistic freedom, and the following renewed interest in connections between the Russian language and nation. An examination of attitudes towards foreignisms can fill a gap in research on these language debates. Analysing metadiscourse in Russian can establish whether the above findings on language attitudes apply in this context, and

if any new light can be shed on how language attitudes operate. The following research questions are posed:

- What ideologies can be detected in statements on language change and anglicisms? What elements from the linguistic culture are instrumentalised in the debate? Who are the powerful actors in this debate and who is backgrounded?
- How has the debate changed over 20 years in the press? Can anglicisms debates be linked to social events and political surrounding?
- What values of language are propounded and what can these values reveal about the culture at the time?

The next section shows how this work addresses the research questions, especially with regard to how arguments in language debates are constructed.

6. Media and discourse

6.1. Media

Print media texts facilitate the analysis of metadiscourse over decades, as they allow an examination of the development of language debates. Also, using a variety of print media ensures that texts by different authors and publications across the spectrum of political inclinations are included. A diverse range of texts can show whether a difference in political affiliation means changes in metadiscourse. Chapter 2 gives more detail about media texts as discourse analysis data. The media have a gatekeeping function, allowing access to those with symbolic power who are distributing dominant discourses. At the same time, the variety of media outlets allows challenging views to be aired as well. To scrutinise a variety of media with many different political affiliations and attitudes may help to give a picture of what generally counts as accepted knowledge about language. The internet is not suitable as its reach in Russia especially in the 1990s was restricted, although the conclusion of this work will allude to the online language debate. As for material broadcast via

radio or television, the selection of data would have to have been overly limited and fail to provide a picture of metadiscourse over time. Although the print media are not the influential force they once were in Russia (see chapter 3, 5.), their role in brokering dominant discourses to the readership, and the possibilities they offer for close textual analysis, make them the ideal source material for this study. The following section explains the notion of discourse as it is used in this work.

6.2. Discourse

Before surveying critical methods for analysing discourse, some preliminary remarks about the concept of discourse are necessary, as the term discourse has a complex history, and almost as many definitions as users. In the first instance, discourse means spoken utterances, set within a specific context. This meaning is alluded to in early writings on discourse analysis by Brown and Yule, who state that the context must also be part of discourse analysis: “The analysis of discourse is, necessarily, the analysis of language in use. As such, it cannot be restricted to the description of linguistic forms independent of the purposes or functions which these forms are designed to serve in human affairs.” (Brown & Yule 1983: 1) Discourse is not limited to verbal utterances, but can include multiple modes of communication, such as pictures, sound etc. The term discourse can also denote ways of speaking and communicating, for example racist or sexist discourse (Wodak 2001: 3). Discourses, in the plural, are defined as the sum of debates and contributions on a particular topic or entity, shaped into a more or less unified whole, like globalisation discourse or the discourse of tolerance. Discourses are intertextual, multitextual, and can compete with one another. The common element of the different understandings of discourse is the view and analysis of language as it is used, in its social context: “Discourse ... refers to language in use, as a process which is socially situated” (Candlin 1997: ix). In this work, discourse is considered the sum of debates and contributions on a certain topic (in this case language) that take place in a particular context. (Metadiscourse is discussed in chapter 2.)

The context of discourse is not necessarily limited to the immediate textual context or even the social context of the time, but also to the context of the history of the particular discourse in question. The history of discourse is subject of studies of genealogies of discourse, following the seminal work of Michel Foucault in this area. Foucault's work has had a vital influence on discourse analysis, and shaped subsequent thinking about discourse and power and history. Foucault's treatment of discourse is not unproblematic, not least because Foucault himself uses 'discourse' in a variety of meanings (cf. Hellstab 2008, Andersen 2003). However, several important Foucauldian notions help to analyse discourse in this work: Foucault's conception of discourse as a historical process, and the link he established between discourse and power. Discourse in Foucault's work is conceived of as a process. Foucault analyses the genealogy of a discourse, how it is shaped throughout history. Foucault's historical, genealogical approach (e.g. 1961) stresses that our understanding of the past depends on intertextuality – texts combine to shape a coherent picture, but intertextuality is unpredictable and occurs in unexpected places. Linguistic culture is just such a collection of historical notions, heavily intertextual and combines many different voices.

Foucault, considering the connection between power and discourse, shows how discourses are used for exclusion (Andersen 2003: 3). He links thinking about discourse explicitly with power issues, theorising that power is exercised rather than possessed, and that it is productive. Foucault considers power to be accepted because it is not only a negative force, but "it traverses and produces things, it induces pleasure, forms knowledge, produces discourse. It needs to be considered as a productive network which runs through the whole social body, much more than as a negative instance whose function is repression." (Foucault, in Gordon 1980: 119) Foucault stresses that power can be insidious and that it is not necessarily a question of oppression and coercion. On the contrary, power relations can be perceived as a positive ordering of the social world, helping individuals to rationalise their position within it. However, the power of discourse can also be used in negative ways or unexpected hidden ways of perpetuating social hierarchies that keep some in a lower position. "There is no free, neutral, independent statement: statements are used together in certain typical patterns (discursive practices) and to form systems

(discursive formations).” (Foucault 1969: 99) Analysing discourse can reveal patterns of social hierarchies, domination, and ideologies at work. For the present study, the notion of the absence of value-free language applies doubly. The portrayal of the Russian language is never value-free, neutral or innocent; language issues are in fact placeholders for a plethora of other concerns to do with group building, individual belonging, national identity and more. Secondly, the language that is used to talk about language – the metadiscourse – is also not value free. Analysing the linguistic elements of this discourse can reveal underlying values at stake in the language debate.

7. *Analysing discourse*

In order to address the research questions above in an analysis of metadiscourse, a method is needed that combines language analysis with both a consideration of the context of metadiscourse and the social circumstances of the time as well. Textual analysis of how language ideologies are constructed in discourse serves a critical approach to potentially hidden argumentative mechanisms, and is integrated with an awareness of both immediate and historical context. The method used in this work is based on a number of principles of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) and language ideology studies. CDA as a method is suitable for scholars in linguistics as well as for non-linguistically trained researchers, it ties in with a variety of other disciplines and can be used in any instance when language use is critically analysed in its social aspects. CDA work combines textual analysis with analysis of sociopolitical context. CDA is fundamentally interested in analysing not only opaque but also transparent structural relationships of dominance, discrimination, power and control as manifested in language (Wodak 2002). Researchers have conducted for example genealogical analysis of a discourse – how a particular discourse came into being and meanings developed over time (Carabine 2001); extensive analyses of media strategies (Fairclough) or official policy (Wodak 2000).

Milani and Johnson have proven that language ideology research and CDA can benefit from each other. Integrating the two areas of study, which have hitherto developed independently with a relatively clear cut divide between the fields, can build a fruitful approach to examining language debates (Milani & Johnson 2008: 362). Milani and Johnson state that

“an approach that draws on the theoretical and methodological insights of both CDA *and* language ideological research can fruitfully contribute to the development of a more nuanced understanding of the *dynamics, heterogeneity* and *dissonance* of the diverse overt and covert processes that typify the political regimentation of language/discourse.” (Milani & Johnson 2008: 362, emphases in the original).

In language ideological research, crucially, not only the achievement or enactment of dominance *through* language should be studied, but also *on the basis of* language practices and judgments that are made about them (Milani & Johnson 2008: 363).

The suitability of CDA for analysing topics with an Eastern European focus has been demonstrated by Krzyżanowski and Wodak (2009). They state that the peculiarities of social change in Central and Eastern European Countries require special tools for analysis, as the vast transformation after the downfall of the Soviet Union took place on political, economic and societal levels. These transformations did not occur simultaneously, but in close succession and at a very fast pace (2009: 19).

Krzyżanowski and Wodak propose rethinking the notion of social change in this context. They suggest that concepts of modernisation and transformation should not be perceived as linear, constant processes, but as cyclical, varied in pace and direction. Therefore, small areas can be usefully singled out from the many facets of transformation for analysis without ignoring the wider perspective. Language debates represent one such facet.

The central tenets of CDA are common to all currents of CDA. They can be summed up in five broad premises (Philips and Jørgensen 2002: 60):

- Social and cultural processes are partly linguistic-discursive in character

- Discourse is both constitutive and constituted
- Language should be analysed in context
- Discourse has an ideological function
- Critical analysis aims to uncover power relations.

These premises date back to the 1960s when critical thinking started to take hold in linguistic thought. Many linguists adopted a critical perspective in language studies, some tracing their influences back to Bakhtin and Voloshinov who advocated an integration of language and social processes in the 1930s (Wodak 2002: 7). Critical Linguistics (CL), developed in the late 1970s (see Fowler 1981; Fowler et al 1979 for accounts of its origins), was part of such research. Sociolinguistic works had hitherto backgrounded aspects of social hierarchy and power. Critical linguists reacted against this backgrounding and the reigning Labovian quantitative sociology (Wodak 2006), seeking to bring a macrosocial perspective to linguistic analysis.

Influential social theories of the 60s and 70s, particularly Western Marxist thought, naturally had an impact on the critical linguistic tradition. In broad summary, new ideas gained ground that emphasised the importance of analysing how social dominance was achieved and how to battle against it. Here, the Frankfurt School, a group of scholars with a Marxist perspective on social change, was instrumental, especially the influence of Jürgen Habermas. He theorised about the social role of language, stating that “language is also a medium of domination and social force. It serves to legitimize relations of organized power. Insofar as the legitimizations of power relations ... are not articulated ... language is also ideological.” (Habermas 1967: 259) For the first time linguistic analysis was combined with social analysis reaching much further than brief background notes. These notions of viewing language critically and taking into account social context are continued in the tradition of CDA, but Iedema (2004) states that CDA has developed in different directions from CL, and Teun van Dijk states that CDA and CL “are at most a shared perspective on doing linguistic, semiotic or discourse analysis.” (1993: 131) Indeed, by the 1990s, the name CDA was used more than CL for critical approaches to linguistic analysis.

7.1. Critical analysis

CDA helps to work out how things are named, why, what interpersonal relations are constructed in a text, how texts are coherent and make sense, how these processes may be hidden and how they are connected to social circumstances. The aim of CDA is to “unmask ideologically permeated and often obscured structures of power, political control, and dominance, as well as strategies of discriminatory inclusion and exclusion in language.” (Wodak 2009: 8) CDA is a powerful tool but has received significant criticism; furthermore, there are heated arguments within the CDA tradition about the theoretical foundations and the validity of specific methods. There are many critiques and counter-critiques of CDA (see e.g. Seidlhofer 2003 and Titscher et al. 2000 for a summary of these debates). The criticisms home in on fuzzy disciplinary borders, and especially on the concept of critical analysis. The attribute ‘critical’ has been condemned by critics of CDA as a leftist, and at times extremist position that incorporates an unduly personal agenda of enlightening the public (e.g. Billig 2003). But the critical aspect of analysis is understood differently. It means that opinions and meanings expressed in discourses are not taken at face value. Instead, critical analysis aims to probe beyond the surface of what is said and written, to expose structures and hierarchies that operate within the text covertly and potentially unconsciously. For this work, critical is defined as aiming to uncover potentially hidden agendas and show how language ideologies are perpetuated by being masked as common sense. The research I am carrying out is critical in the sense that it aims to uncover subordination. However, power structures and hierarchies are not necessarily viewed as negative and in need of change. Milani and Johnson show that linguistic ideology research can contribute to a more nuanced application of CDA, by contributing the notion that the power of language is “not *reducible* to, or *derivative* from, the power of the social” (Milani & Johnson 2008: 370, emphasis in the original). Instead, they advocate a focus on “which available discursive resources (i.e. strategies and means) are employed *at a given historical moment* by particular social actors in order to render an utterance potentially powerful and authoritative.” (ibid) This approach is adopted in this work to examine

the discursive strategies used to construct anglicisms and borrowing in a certain way, divide speakers into groups, and the ideological background to these processes.

7.2. CDA and textual analysis

Hallidayan Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) is a key influence on the textual analysis of CDA (e.g. Fairclough (1995)). SFL, like CDA, presupposes that language is inherently social in nature: According to Halliday, “language is as it is because of its function in the social structure.” (1973: 65) Young and Harrison (2004: 1) state that both SFL and CDA consider language as socially constructed and see a dialectical relationship between discursive events and their contexts, influencing one another. Halliday's framework of linguistic functions has supplied a base for much linguistic analysis within the CDA tradition. Halliday singles out three functions of language:

- Ideational; language referring to realities, speaker's experience, representation
- Interpersonal; language used for interaction between speaker and addressee – speakers express attitudes towards their utterance, speakers set up relationship with those they address
- Textual; function making a text intelligible as a coherent text

In Critical Discourse Analysis work, these three functions are analysed to some extent, even if the work is not structured along the functions. For example, CDA work examines how persons, processes or things are referred to by naming (vocabulary and lexis, ideational function). An analysis of lexis can show what referential and predicative strategies are used, for example how agents or their actions are portrayed, whether there are intensification or mitigation strategies at work (emphasising or downplaying actions or agents). The interpersonal function includes devices like mood (declarative, interrogative or imperative), modality, and forms of address. Critical analysis of the textual function shows how a text achieves coherence and how it is made intelligible to the recipient. An analysis of common

sense construction in language ideology is achieved by looking at metaphors and argumentation strategies (Wodak 1999) in close textual analysis. My examination of language ideology in metadiscourse on foreignisms will be conducted on this basis.

8. Dissertation outline

8.1. Main arguments

My analysis shows that the two types of language views set out above, realist and nominalist, are both drawn upon to cast speakers in a passive, obedient role. Either the speakers must obediently learn the rules so that Russian communication is not compromised, or they must respect the tradition of the Russian language which expresses uniquely Russian character traits as far as the metadiscourse is concerned. In this discourse, no matter in what publication or at what times a particular opinion on anglicisms is voiced, fundamental assumptions about the character of language remain unshakeable. The image of language stays constant regardless of whether the argument is supporting language change in principle, but demand regulation, or whether the argument objects to anglicisms outright. Milroy and Milroy (1999: 31f) distinguish between two types of language complaints: Complaints of type 1 concern correctness, perceived misuse of grammar, phonology and vocabulary, whereas complaints of type 2 cover moralistic aspects, clarity, effectiveness, and honesty of communication. The two types can be linked and type 1 complaints feed into type 2. Milroy and Milroy state that type 1 is about the superiority of one language system over another, and type 2 about the effect of language on human behaviour. However, in this analysis of metadiscourse I show that all types of language complaints are concerned with superiority.

8.2. Structure of the work

Chapter 1 gives consideration to the history of borrowing and debates on borrowing and language change in Russia. Then, in chapter 2, issues of language ideology will be examined to show how language debates are intimately connected to other issues.

Chapter 3 describes my method, and chapter 4 and 5 give the results of the metadiscourse analysis. The following outline gives more details on each chapter.

Chapter 1, the background chapter on the history of linguistic borrowing in Russia especially from English, provides the historical perspective on Russian linguistic culture. This history begins with the first known English borrowings in the Middle Ages and covers borrowing until the present day. Listing the historical events that have become part of the linguistic culture also enables the subsequent analysis to reveal which elements have not entered the linguistic culture but are backgrounded. Although the analysis deals with material from the last twenty years, dominant language ideologies from the past may be traced through to today's debates or supplying today's debates with explanatory material.

Foreignisms are debated heatedly, but to varied extents throughout time. Chapter 1 shows that the debates begin after times of intense borrowing. After the downfall of the Soviet Union, when a large quantity of foreign new words entered the language, most discussions concerned the novelty value of the words. Then in later years the debates started to gain more negative overtones with demands to restrict foreignism use to keep the Russian language pure. This purism may be connected to a rise of nationalism after the breakdown of the Soviet Union, borne not only of nostalgia, but also disillusionment with the West (Duncan 2005: 287).

The second chapter discusses the notion of linguistic ideology, its significance for my work, how it will be examined, and what its role in language debates is. The discursive construction of ideology is explained especially in its relationship to common sense creation. The discussion of metadiscourse is connected to ideology. As metadiscourse constitutes my data, I examine the concept in detail, teasing out connections of commonsense making and language issues, and show what previous research has shown about the links between metadiscourse, ideology and common sense. Schiffman's concept of linguistic culture is important in this context. The linguistic culture, the background knowledge in the community about the role and character of language, provides taken-for-granted knowledge that can be activated in

specific discourse on anglicisms. Language in such debates is used as a stand-in for different issues. Duszak (2002) for example concentrates on foreign words, stating how usage and attitudes towards them make up part of the social identity of the speaker. Foreignism is defined as “recent borrowings that are (still) phonetically, grammatically and textually salient in the ‘new’ context of use.” (2002: 210) They convey otherness by default, even if they are used to construct solidarity in a group, for example by the use of jargon, because they serve to set the group apart.

Chapter 3 provides a discussion of the methods used to analyse metadiscourse. The method is based on several strands of methods associated with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA). CDA is an interdisciplinary approach with several different schools of thought that are at times opposed to one another. CDA examines how language constructs a particular subject and how discourses are linked to hierarchies and relations of power. Milani and Johnson state that CDA and research on language ideology have developed separately, but can gain much from each other. In my work, the construction of folklinguistic discourse is analysed. Chapter 3 gives details of Preston’s notion of folklinguistics, and the analysis of argumentative strategies conducted by Ruth Wodak in the discourse-historical tradition provides the main framework for analysis of folklinguistics. The work of Teun van Dijk on ideological square construction, emphasising negative traits of the out-group and positive traits of the in-group, adds to this framework. Furthermore, chapter 3 elaborates how metaphors and argumentation strategies rely on instrumentalising pre-supposed knowledge. Knowledge of speakers about the world and their language is negotiated, mediated and perpetuated continuously. At the same time, it cannot be created afresh, from a *tabula rasa*: Knowledge about the world pre-exists the individual and is shared with the community – knowledge is social. It is given as an *a priori* to the experience of the individual to endow this experience with meaning (Berger & Luckmann 1979: 20). The beliefs held within the linguistic culture are precisely this type of knowledge that both pre-exists individuals and must be recreated and mediated continuously.

Chapters 4 and 5 constitute the analytical part of this work. Chapter 4, on the image of language, examines metaphors used in metadiscourse. These metaphors are describing anglicisms, language change, and the role of language and speakers. I consider metaphor not an embellishment, but an intrinsic part of normal language, and use conceptual metaphor theory, blending theory and metaphor scenarios in the analysis. Metaphors reveal much about how processes are framed in a common-sense argumentation. Following Fauconnier and Turner, I see metaphors as blending processes that add elements from several input spaces into a blend, but disregarding others; this process results in something different from the sum of its parts, but a new, fresh blend that can be created online. Metaphors, even entrenched 'dead' ones, can thus be newly instrumentalised. Following Musolff (2006), I consider discourse to contain metaphor scenarios or mini-narratives that structure topics. For example, in a health metaphor, the Russian language is described as a body, and anglicisms as viruses. By using this metaphor, a mini-narrative of infection, illness and possible death is evoked. These scenarios operate at a highly abstract, yet easily comprehensible level. The recipient only needs a basic knowledge of health and illness to immediately grasp the metaphor. This makes metaphor very effective, and by studying how metaphors structure the metadiscourse on anglicisms an overall discourse of diffuse threat can be revealed.

Chapter 5, containing the rest of the analysis apart from metaphor, focuses on language subordination in folklinguistics. Language subordination, studied in depth by Lippi-Green (1997), employs a variety of strategies to cast a particular language, variety, or way of speaking as inferior. The majority of these strategies adopt an argumentation of common sense. The data analysis shows how Bourdieusian theories of common sense, language ideology and capital, and the hierarchical nature of the debates apply in the area of Russian language debates. As well, the analysis examines what elements of the linguistic culture are employed in the argumentation.

Chapter 1: Linguistic borrowing in Russian and the reception of foreignisms

1. Introduction

Widespread linguistic borrowing, especially of English lexis, is a major part of post-Soviet changes to the Russian language. But linguistic borrowing in Russian is of course not a new phenomenon – the process of borrowing from foreign languages in general and English in particular has a centuries-long history. The most salient episodes of this history are described in this chapter. Furthermore, the description of reactions throughout history to the appearance of borrowings gives insight about changing language attitudes. As foreign influences on a language are particularly visible, they can focus the attention of those concerned with language issues, and easily create reactions and debate. The adoption of new English words in Russian is commented on by various parties, such as scholars, celebrities, politicians or journalists. Borrowings are categorised in dictionaries, explained in reference works, and then either welcomed or lamented. How are current processes of borrowing and the reactions towards it, related to the history of language contact between Russian and other languages? Are patterns of borrowing and language attitudes discernible? If so, what predictions about present-day reactions to them allow? How have language ideologies (cf. chapter 1, section 3) changed over time? This chapter aims to answer these questions by giving background information about the history of borrowing, and by showing the developments in attitudes towards it. Such a snapshot of the history of linguistic borrowing in Russian shows how current trends in borrowing and attitudes towards foreignisms are linked to historical processes. The history of borrowing and language attitudes is important to bear in mind when analysing current language ideologies, as historical periods, folklore knowledge and mythologising of the past all constitute potential sources of Russian language ideologies (Gorham 2009: 170). The examination of historical processes and reactions to borrowing informs the subsequent analysis that considers, amongst other

factors, how the history of the Russian language is framed in discourse about foreignisms and what effect this framing has.

Firstly, theories of linguistic borrowing and attitudes towards borrowing will be examined, both in general and regarding the Russian context. This section is followed by an outline of the history of linguistic borrowing in Russian. Distinct periods of borrowing and attitudes to this phenomenon will be described and explained in four parts:

1. The history of borrowing and language attitudes from the Middle Ages to the early 20th century provides historical information to contribute to an understanding of the more recent history of borrowing.
2. The development of borrowing and linguistic attitudes under Soviet rule is a more immediate background to post-Soviet metadiscourse.
3. A section on borrowing during perestroika and the 1990s examines what material was borrowed, what language policy existed, and what attitudes can be detected.
4. The fourth section does the same for the 2000s. The multitude of borrowing and language policy developments at this time deserve detailed attention.

Ultimately, apart from giving a historical background, this chapter also examines whether the history suggests any universal patterns in borrowing and its reception, and whether any predictions can be made for my analysis.

2. Linguistic Borrowing – Theoretical Approaches

2.1. Language change

Linguistic borrowing is one of the many manifestations of language change.

Language change has occurred as long as languages have existed, and has been the subject of many studies and theories. Hruschka et al (2009) summarise the main premises of language change: A language is spoken by a group of speakers who

construct and interpret utterances in order to achieve things. For communication to work, utterances have recurring commonalities, e.g. what a particular word means, how words are combined to accomplish certain goals. These conventions may look unchangeable, but they are subject to variation as speakers use different ways to communicate very similar meanings. Variation takes place on all levels: how sounds are articulated, what words are used, how sentences are constructed. This variation, both within speakers and between speakers, provides material for language change. Then, language and changes to it also depend on social factors, for example the size of the speech community, the structure, economic and political factors. Several strands of linguistic research are concerned with language change but vary considerably in their outlook. For example, psycholinguistics studies variation in people's speech in laboratory environments, whilst sociolinguistics focuses on natural speech and detecting changes that are connected with differences in for example age or gender. Historical linguistics examines change of entire languages over a long period of time, and creolistics is concerned with how novel language varieties emerge in colonial contexts (Hruschka et al 2009: 466). Overviews of the theorisation of language change as well as language contact can be found in Hickey (2003, 2010) or Winford (2003).

According to Aitchison's summary, linguistic change was for a long time thought to be unmeasurable and undetectable because of its slowness (2001: 37). Only the results of language change were deemed possible to study, the processes of change themselves were not considered a feasible object of analysis. The main analytical problem was thought to be the variation and fuzziness of language change, as the unclear boundaries of linguistic processes made it difficult to pinpoint where change occurred. However, Labov's pioneering sociolinguistic research on accent variation showed that the variation and fuzziness are themselves indicators of language change (ibid 42). The notion of gradual, slow language change is also evident in the 'invisible hand' theory of language change. The term 'invisible hand' was first coined by Adam Smith to explain the self-regulating character of the market (1759). According to this theory, changes occur neither wholly naturally, nor are they created entirely artificially. Instead, individuals perform an act with a certain intention, but

this act then has different, unintended consequences. Rudi Keller (1994) is a main proponent of this theory with regard to language change. He states that speakers may change the way they speak in order to distinguish themselves from others, but without intending to change the language. Also, a balance must be achieved between distinguishing oneself and fitting in with other speakers' behaviour to ensure mutual understanding and signal belonging to the group. The dynamics of language change, according to Keller, are influenced by this complex relationship.

The variety of theories on language change notwithstanding, most theories agree on a basic distinction between the externally and the internally motivated change. This distinction has become widely accepted in the literature (Jones & Singh 2005: 2). Internally motivated explanations locate change in language system or in native speaker creativity; externally motivated language change occurs through language contact. Part of these contact induced changes is linguistic borrowing. Theories of contact-induced changes to language describe how language change can be brought about by socio-political changes that lead to contacts with other languages. These externally motivated changes can also be combined with internally motivated changes. The breakdown of a political regime is an example of a situation where externally and internally motivated changes unite: A new political order may require new terms and ways of speaking (internal reasons), but the new ways may be acquired from other languages (external factor). These connections are particularly salient for recent language changes in Russian. Most post-perestroika works on language change in Russia state that the radical changes in society and politics were followed necessarily by linguistic change. Zybatow, however, warns against taking an oversimplified approach, assuming that societal changes are simply mirrored in language (Zybatow 2000: 6). Most importantly, ultimately language change has no intrinsic aim, direction or qualitative improvement to the language itself. Instead, social advantage determines language change. The term language evolution (see Mufwene 2001, Croft 2000) for example, is therefore considered misleading by some – languages do not change for the better or the worse (Zybatow 2000: 3¹).

¹ Zybatow is also a proponent of the “Invisible Hand” theory of language change.

2.2. Language contact and linguistic borrowing

Studies of language contact and linguistic borrowing have a long history. These works traditionally concentrated on particular languages and particular types of words and were mostly descriptive in character. The study of linguistic borrowing as a process began with Bloomfield's typology of borrowings from 1933, which was elaborated by Haugen in 1950. Haugen (1950) states that previous studies amounted to mere anecdotal evidence of the etymology of borrowed words. Since then, many studies of linguistic borrowings have concentrated on the linguistic features borrowed or on how borrowed items were transformed in the target language. The study of linguistic borrowings is characterized by ambiguities and fuzzy definitions; many scholars note that the terminology remains undecided (e.g. Winford 2003: 10, Krysin 2004: 23, Nettmann-Multanowska 2003: 57). The terms 'borrowing', 'foreignism', and 'loanword' are not clearly or consistently defined in the literature, neither in themselves nor in their relation to one another. Some scholars, e.g. Johanson (2002), reject the terminology of borrowing and loans altogether, as nothing is ever returned, and call the process 'code copying' instead. The influence of contact languages on each other is also called interference, although this term has negative overtones, so many scholars prefer 'contact induced changes' (Winford 2003: 3). The lack of a consensus on how to define and categorise material borrowed from another language can be attributed to the multi-faceted nature of linguistic borrowing. The confusion between different theoretical concepts in language contact and ambiguities in categorizing different loanwords may influence folklinguistic explanations adhered to by laypeople, therefore it is important to bear in mind that these ambiguities exist. For the purposes of this work, distinctions between different types of borrowed words are not primarily relevant, as the reactions to them are in the focus. I will therefore follow Jones & Singh's wide definition of 'borrowing words' as "the incorporation of foreign words into a speaker's native language" (2005: 30).

2.2.1. The process of linguistic borrowing

In language contact, any element of a language can be borrowed: lexis, grammar, syntax etc, depending on the level of contact (Thomason 1999: 63). Linguistic borrowing ranges from casual language contact (where only non-basic lexicon is borrowed) to intense contact, including grammatical borrowing (ibid 70ff, Winford 2003: 23). The following table, adapted from Winford (2003: 45) shows the different categories of loans. However, these categories are not universally used and just serve to demonstrate the variety of different loan processes that exist.

Table 1: Types of Linguistic Borrowing

	Types	Processes involved
Loanwords		
1	‘pure’ loanwords	Total morphemic importations of single or compound words Varying degrees of phonemic substitution Possible semantic change
2	Loanblends	Combination of native and imported morphemes
2a	Derivational blend	Imported stem + native affix Native stem + imported affix
2b	Compound blend	Imported stem + native stem
Loanshifts		
1	‘extensions’ (semantic loans)	Shifts in the semantics of a native word under influence from a foreign word A Phonological resemblance B Partial semantic resemblance
2	Loan translations (calques)	Combination of native morphemes in imitation of foreign pattern

Adapted from Winford 2003: 45

This table shows a variety of different borrowings and adaptations. A word is never borrowed in its entirety of meanings. The meaning of the borrowed word may be narrower in the target language (for example, Maximova cites *penalti* (penalty) and *butsy* (boots) which in Russian are only used in sports contexts (2002: 201f); equally, a word may have enlarged meaning as a result of metaphoric or metonymic processes in the target language (ibid 202). Furthermore, not only can the meaning of a borrowed word change from its meaning in the source language, it can also change

meaning from when it was first borrowed (Yelenevskaya 2008: 107). In the Russian metadiscourse, these changes of meaning are often used either to justify a particular Anglicism, or to argue against using it (see ch. 5, 3.3.1.1.). The borrowing and adaptation process is gradual, and words take some time to get accepted or transformed in the target culture. Generally, the attitude towards foreign words softens when the word seems familiar or occurs more often, whereas unfamiliar words will be rated negatively. Vanbeselaere (1980: 64) showed this already long ago. In his study, participants were given texts featuring loanwords they were told were Turkish (the words were in fact made up). They found that attitudes of participants were more positive towards words that occurred more often.

2.2.2. The borrowing process in Russian

Casual contact between languages resulting in lexical borrowing only is very common (Winford 2003: 12). This is the type of language contact found between Russian and English. The vocabulary of any language is considered the area most 'open' to foreignisms – words gain entry into the language more easily than entire structures (Krysin 2004: 26). Chachibaia and Colenso (2005) agree that in recent years, Russian has mainly taken on new vocabulary. Russian grammar is less prone to contact-induced change than lexis. Russian assimilates borrowings easily by giving it morphological characteristics (gender, declension, suffixes etc) and derivational paradigms (how other word classes can be derived from a borrowing) (Chachibaia & Colenso 2005: 124). A variety of schemata on how borrowed words enter a language have been given over the years. Krysin (2004: 37) describes the process of lexical borrowing thus:

- A word is used in the original form, without transliteration or change.
- Transliteration and/or grammaticisation occur – the foreign word is written in the target language alphabet and is grammatically adapted to fit into the structure of the target language.
- The language community no longer perceives the word as alien.
- The borrowed word is used in various registers and contexts.

- The word enters into dictionaries.

This process of borrowing, however, is not necessarily as linear as the above framework, and it is impossible to predict how long it takes to complete the steps. Additionally, some words never make it past the first stage. Words do not all enter the new language in the same way: Some words are borrowed in their entirety; others are blended with native morphemes. Maximova (2002) detects three kinds of borrowings in Russian: foreignisms (unadapted words that have not become part of Russian yet), aliens (words that still look foreign in form), and integrated anglicisms (words that seem familiar and part of Russian).

Russian scholarship on language contact demonstrates the difficulties in neatly categorising or dating borrowed words. Borrowings in Russian have been classified for example by source language and time of borrowing (e.g. Aristova 1978, Krysin 1968). Other systems include one devised by Bash (1989), who distinguishes between borrowings (barbarisms, transliterations, borrowings proper, internationalisms) and quasi-borrowings (reformulation, mixed words, hybrids), and Timofeeva's (1995) system of sorting foreign words into the categories transplantation, transliteration, and practical transcription. In sum, no satisfactory system for classification has been found (Romanov 2000: 17). However, all scholars agree that borrowings are assimilated to different degrees and that over time. Regarding reception of borrowings, as words become more familiar and maybe acquire grammatical characteristics of the target language, they appear less foreign.

In Germany, in the 19th century, a distinction arose between *Fremdwort* (foreign word) and *Lehnwort* (borrowed word), largely rooted in purist movements to put a stop to 'excessive' borrowing. This distinction provided a way to distinguish between 'acceptable' foreign words that had become part of the language (*Lehnwort*) and 'unacceptable', too foreign ones (*Fremdwort*) (Nettmann-Multanowska 2003: 62). This distinction can also be found in Russian academic works (Krysin 2004, Holland 2006). This distinction between foreign word and borrowed word, however, is both contested and difficult to make. It is an ephemeral way of categorising foreign

words, as it is grounded in the usage of a word rather than formal criteria – today's *Fremdwort* may well become tomorrow's *Lehnwort* (Romanov 2000:14). Importantly, the media metadiscourse utilises this distinction widely in justifying arguments against anglicisms (see chapter 5, 3.3.1.1).

2.2.3. Reasons for linguistic borrowing

The basic reasons for linguistic borrowing in Russian are no different than in other language contact scenarios (Yelenevskaya 2008: 103). As for other types of language change, the theory on borrowing distinguishes between extralinguistic and intralinguistic reasons for borrowing. Extralinguistic reasons include cultural influence, oral and written contact, interest in learning a language, authoritative position of source language, or prestige (Myers-Scotton 2002: 41). For any borrowing to take place, a number of bilingual speakers are necessary. Although in some cases a high-profile individual, such as a politician or a celebrity, may bring about the adoption of a foreign word, it usually requires a number of well-connected bilingual speakers adopting the new word, and more bilingual speakers to understand it, before it is also adopted by monolingual speakers (Myers-Scotton 2002: 238). Intralinguistic reasons can include the absence of an equivalent term (although the notion of equivalence is notoriously problematic), a need to unify or simplify terms, or adding detail, expressivity and style (Krysin 2004: 124). Romanov (2000: 111f) singles out six functions of anglicisms in Russian:

1. Evaluative – mostly positive, a loanword is used for its positive connotations
2. Preserving the foreign character of a concept/object
3. Characterisation – for example as a marker of youth slang
4. Language games
5. Euphemistic use of anglicisms
6. Covering a lack of information

Romanov's points 1, 5 and 6 (and possibly 3) are attributable to prestige reasons. Rosenhouse and Kowmer (2008: 12) state that borrowing lexis must have a reward that functions as a motive, e.g. creating specialist jargons, or emulating a dominant group. As determinants of the adoption or rejection of a new word, they consider whether a language community is aiming to modernise, whether it considers the other language prestigious, whether the other language serves as a contact language, how much cultural threat is perceived, how the national character influences attitudes to borrowing and what regulatory institutions exist (*ibid* 14ff). The prestige of loanwords, as seen above, is generally considered a major factor, especially in Russian (Winford 2003: 37, Krysin 2004: 199). The potential partial incomprehensibility of the word can contribute to this effect, adding an aura of mystique (Pfandl 2004: 125). Yet the prestige may not be uncontested. Metadiscursive statements are given by Russian journalists who feel obliged to explain the unfamiliar words, ranging in their explanations from apologetically self-ironic to ridiculing (Yelenevskaya 2008: 105f). Again, it must be stressed that the reasons for borrowing cited by scholars vary greatly and are at times not compatible. Especially the distinction between intra- and extralinguistic reasons is fuzzy and potentially problematic – a word might fall into both categories (see e.g. Zybatow 2001). However, there is a scholarly consensus on language domination: which language dominates in a language contact situation is determined by political, societal and other factors, not by any qualities inherent in the language itself. In a language contact situation, borrowing usually occurs, at least predominantly, in one direction – from the dominant language into the other (Romanov 2000: 7). As prestige is a major reason for borrowing or lack thereof, changes in relations to the source language – whether towards a nation that speaks that language, or relations to anything foreign – may also trigger changes in linguistic borrowing and attitudes. The rest of this chapter describes the relationship between socio-political background and linguistic borrowing in Russian.

3. Linguistic borrowing from English – first contacts to the revolution

The summary of the history of borrowing from English in Russian illustrates what material was borrowed when, how attitudes towards borrowing have changed over time and what continuities can be found. Language contact between Russian and other languages has always existed. For example, many loans into East Slavonic came from Turkic origins from the 13th century onwards, also during times of the so-called Tatar Yoke. The first known contacts with English date from the 16th century. From then onwards, borrowing from English grew in intensity, but in different stages. The next sections show details of the different phases.

3.1. 16th and 17th centuries

The first known contacts between Russian and English can be pinpointed to the 16th century and arose out of newly established trade relations. Trade relations between England and Russia were developing intensively during the reign of Ivan Grozny (1533-1584) (Romanov 2000), starting from 1553 when the ship *Edward Bonaventure* appeared in the Northern Dvina. The captain was invited to Tsar Ivan IV, where he was overall favourably received (Issatschenko 1983: 272). A trade agreement was signed. Trade between Russia and Great Britain was supported by freedom of movement and tax free trade for British traders, which was a concession of the Moscow Company (Proshina & Ettkin 2005: 439). In the 1560s, diplomatic ties between England and Russia became so strong that a permanent mission was founded in London and Moscow (Romanov 2000). Consequently, English tradesmen began to settle in Russia. The main reasons for linguistic borrowing from English at this period were diplomatic and economic relations (Aristova 1978), which explains the terminology borrowed in that time, for example terms of address (*сер, ерль, лорд, лорд-чамберлин*²). However, at the turn of the 17th century, Russian traders grew increasingly frustrated with the English dominance over trade and staged a protest. In 1649, an ukaz from Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich marked the end of trading

² These and all following examples are taken from Romanov 2000.

privileges for the English (Romanov 2000: 23). Relations between the countries deteriorated. The abolition of these privileges led to an increase in Russian trade, a lessening of English trade and consequently the decline of borrowing from English. During this era of emerging trade relations and subsequent cooling of those, Russian was considered strong, “no other language was felt to threaten its existence” (Maximova 2002: 197).

3.2. The Petrine Period and the 18th Century

The reign of Peter the Great (1682-1725) brought great changes to Russia. As well as implementing far-reaching reforms within the country, Tsar Peter I was famously keen to develop relations with the West, encouraging both the adoption of Western ideas and trade with Western European countries. Many foreign items were imported; an ukaz in 1718 urged travellers to bring back exotic and abnormal items from abroad (Bogdanov 2006: 7, 25). Economic ties between England and Russia were strengthened again in the Petrine epoch. Peter I visited London in 1698, and the first decade of the 18th century saw many Russians travel to England to learn shipbuilding, engineering techniques and the English language (Romanov 2000: 24). But although during the reign of Peter I 3000 foreign words were borrowed, only 5% of them were from English (ibid). These were mostly nautical (e.g. *катер, румб, шквал*), as Britain was of great importance to the Russian navy in the last ten years of Peter’s reign (Whittall 1985: 12). The main languages of borrowing were German and French, also Dutch, rather than English. English borrowings included words to do with money (*гинея, стерлинг*), food (*джин, пудинг, ростбиф*) and textiles (*плис, фланель*), for example. (Issatschenko (1983: 459ff) gives a detailed list of borrowings during the reign of Peter the Great.)

The literary sphere in the early 18th century had a significant influence on borrowing from English (Romanov (2000: 24). In the first quarter of the 18th century, more literary translations were encouraged. Parallel texts (English and Russian) were also commonly read, contributing to an understanding of English words. The elite welcomed the borrowing; there were no purist claims in the linguistic works of the

period, although some writers already asked readers to distinguish between useful and not useful foreign words.

After a period of great openness and encouragement to form ties with foreign countries, and linguistic borrowing encouraged by trade, commerce and literary tastes, a different, more inward-looking school of ideas came to the fore. Towards the second half of the 18th century, the mood changed from openness towards foreign influences to feelings of national consolidation and pride. A period of purism and resistance against foreign influence set in, encouraged by this rise of national feeling (Romanov 2000: 27). The linguistic standardization advocated by Mikhail Lomonosov was connected to these sentiments (Romanov 2000: 27). His views that Russian needed to be standardized were shared by many authoritative literary figures such as Krylov, Derzhavin and Radishchev (Maximova 2002). Therefore the attitudes of educated people became negative towards foreign borrowings. Russia was a bilingual society, and the use of foreign languages became contested at this time. The numbers of new loanwords in the 18th century reflect the Westernization of the first part and later more nationalist tendencies: 52% of all new loanwords of the 18th century were adopted in the first three decades, 27% in the next three, and 21% in next two (Maximova 2002: 195). In the first academic Slavonic and Russian dictionary (1789-1794, edited by Princess Ekaterina Dashkova) most borrowings are replaced by Russian synonyms or translations (Romanov 2000: 29), which further shows a lessening influx of foreign words.

3.3. The 19th Century

At the turn of the 19th century, relations between Russia and Britain grew stronger again; England was a major recipient of exported Russian goods (Romanov 2000: 30). As well, at the end of the 18th century the first contacts with America were established, and in the beginning of the 19th century American traders arrived in Russia (Proshina & Ettkin 2005: 441). Much of the lexical borrowing from English at that time was a consequence of the industrial revolution, as new technologies from England were introduced (Romanov 2000: 31, Maximova 2002: 196). In the first half of the 19th century, nautical, technical, scientific sports and other terms were

borrowed (*виски, денди, гонг, суперкарго, гиббон, бокс, ярд*). In the second half, words from the areas of economy, politics, agriculture, culture and exoticisms were borrowed as well (*тендер, спич, бушель, компост, спорт, мокасины*) (Romanov 2000: 27). The dictionaries written at the time, both of Russian and of foreign words, show the development of linguistic borrowing in the 19th century. In the first dictionary of foreign words by Ianovskii (1803-1806) there were 120 anglicisms; by 1866, when Mikhelson's dictionary appeared, this number had risen to 300 anglicisms (15% of all borrowings) (Romanov 2000: 28).

Cultural links were also strengthened. Popular authors like Rudyard Kipling, Henry Longfellow or Lord Byron were translated (Maximova 2002: 196); Catherine the Great was fond of English culture and promoted translation of literature (Proshina & Ettkin 2005: 440). English words were common in the language of the aristocracy, where anglomania was widespread (Maximova 2002: 196). The language of writers and scholars also contributed to the process (Romanov 2000). However, in the nineteenth century, French was undoubtedly the language with the most prestige (Proshina & Ettkin 2005: 441). The court was bilingual and the nobility spoke French exclusively, also educating their children in French. Catherine the Great was especially interested in French philosophy and ideas. Eventually, though, the proliferation of western influences led to conflict and language debate with calls for a strengthening of the role of Russian. Anglophilia also abated in the 1860s-70s, as revolutionary ideas gained ground and intellectuals grew increasingly interested in Russian life and literature, and linguistic purism became more widespread (Proshina & Ettkin 2005: 442). In Vladimir Dal's famous dictionary of the Russian language (1863-1866) explanations and possible synonyms for foreign words were given in an attempt to clean the language (Romanov 2000: 29). In contrast to French words, English borrowings were not discussed as heatedly due to their lesser number (Romanov 2000: 30).

Two contradictory ideologies on language were voiced at this time: On the one hand, there was the view of Russian as a sacred, untouchable language that expresses the essential characteristic of the nation. The contrasting perspective saw the language of

the ordinary people as a language that must be understandable and respected. This division and the consequences for Russian linguistic culture have far-reaching consequences, lasting even until the present day (see introduction). The two opposing views clashed most obviously in the first decades of the 19th century between followers of the writer Nikolai Karamzin (1766-1826) and the essayist and politician Aleksandr Shishkov (1754-1841). Karamzin held that Russian should be open to any modes of expression that made it possible to meet the needs of European culture. Shishkov presumed that only by sustaining the Slavonic tradition was it possible to preserve its identity (Gasparov 2004: 133; Cubberley 1993: 258). The essentialist view later interpreted structural differences between Russian and Western languages as signs of the unique Russian national character that found expression in the grammatical structure of the language. (As Gasparov points out, such opinions have gained currency in recent years too; also see 4.3 below.) As purism gained ground and revolutionary ideas spread in the 1860s-1870s, borrowing slowed down and became unpopular.

3.4. Early 20th century

In the beginning of the 20th century, there was renewed linguistic borrowing from English due to the developments and adoption of English concepts in science and technology, as well as intensified cultural contact. French and German borrowing slowed down and instead, more English words were borrowed (Romanov 2000: 31). The prestige of French waned as the cultural and political status of France was now much diminished; interest in German declined due to Germany's status as an enemy in the First World War. These factors contributed to the rise of English as the foremost source language of linguistic borrowing. Words borrowed at this time came from the areas of sports, music, technology and warfare (e.g. *аут*, *бар*, *блюз*, *дерби*, *лифт*, *хулиган*).

4. Linguistic borrowing and language ideology under Soviet rule

4.1. The October Revolution and the 1920s

The Russian Revolution (October Revolution) in 1917 had great impact on the Russian language. The abrupt and vast changes sweeping the country necessarily engendered much language change. The radically new order demanded a brand new vocabulary, unknown to the people. There were significant borrowings of new vital terms such as *агитация, пропаганда, пролетариат, митинг, демонстрация* etc. (Gorham 2000: 24). In addition, a great part of the population had been unable to read or write until analphabetism was subject to a campaign of elimination (*likbez*). The view of language per se changed fundamentally. Many linguists of the time thought a new Bolshevik language could simply be engineered. The drive for a new language stemmed from two wishes: the desire to shake off the old imperial order, and to empower the citizens. (Gorham 2003: 179).

The appearance of many acronyms was a revolutionary development, heralding new era in 1920s, but by 1925 they had become a symbol of the state control, no longer associated with creativity and change (Yurchak 2004: 420). The country began to isolate itself from bourgeois neighbours. In this mood, the idea of borrowing from English was unpopular. Language change particularly involved material from the Russian language itself (Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade 1999: 4). Nevertheless, some terms were still borrowed, for example sports and leisure terms as well as ones denoting new realia (*волейбол, фокстрот, свитер*).

4.2. The 1930s and the Second World War

The late 1920s until the beginning of the war was characterised by stabilisation and state building. This decade saw the first five year plans and the working class trebling in number. The Soviet Union's push for industrialisation, technological innovation and the developing of science led to increased linguistic borrowing (Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade 1999: 19, Proshina & Ettkin 2005: 442).

By the beginning of the 1930s, English had become the main source for borrowings (Romanov 2000). Names of new technologies and instruments were borrowed (*адаптер, комбайн, конвейер, спидометр, трактор, троллейбус*), sporting terms (*баскетбол, бутсы, кросс, офсайд, спринтер, тайм*), economic terms (*бизнесмен, сервис*) and cultural terms (*кроссворд, холл*). The outbreak of war also had an influence on borrowing. While some borrowings entered the language as a result of allied contacts with Britain and America (Proshina & Etkin 2005: 443), there was an overall decrease of loans during the war as part of general tendencies to look inward at a time of defence against enemy nations (Comrie et al 1996: 207; Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade 1999: 24).

4.3. The post-war years

The post-war years definitively signalled a new restrictive era as regards borrowing. Stalin's plans to combat so-called 'rootless cosmopolitanism' meant that foreign influences of all kind, including linguistic, were unwelcome and campaigned against in newspapers (Comrie et al 1996: 209; Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade 1999: 34). In the 1940s and 50s, the process of borrowing slowed down drastically even more as a result of the beginning of the Cold War (Romanov 2000: 32f). A combination of Stalinist repression and the Cold War times meant far fewer words were borrowed during this time.

4.4. The 1960s and 1970s

Contact between Russian and English was extensive in the second half of the 20th century when the Soviet Union and the USA became opposed superpowers (Lychyk 1994). In the late 1950s and 1960s, many borrowed words entered during the period known as 'Thaw'. Under Khrushchev's rule, after the death of Stalin, repression and censorship were partly reversed, and many cultural transformations took place. The new cultural openness permitted strengthened links to Western culture, which led also to more borrowings. There was not much criticism about this influx of borrowings (Maximova, Romanov 2000: 33, Krysin 2004). Many new technical and scientific terms (*компьютер, стресс*), sporting and tourism words (*кемпинг,*

круиз), art and culture terminology (*бестселлер, вестерн, герлс, рок, хеппенинг, шоу*), and words about new realia (*джинсы, клипсы*) entered the Russian language.

During the 1970s, fewer borrowings entered the standard language, but more into youth slang as the use of foreign words became a sign of dissent in student and hippie slang (Comrie et al 1996: 213), attracting some criticism (Romanov 2000: 34). Some borrowed words were spelled phonetically, some transliterated directly without taking pronunciation into account (Lychyk 1994: 142f). 56% of borrowings were graphic, mixed, and phonetic loanwords; phonetic ones formed the highest number. Before the 1970s, calques were rare (Krysin 2000: 186), but Lychyk shows that in the 1970s, calques and semi-calques constituted one third of all borrowings. Lychyk cites the following areas of borrowing: science and technology (27.3% of borrowings), politics and society (21.7%), arts and culture and entertainment (11.6%), sports terminology (6.6%); and also colloquialisms, fashion, food, and military jargon. The distribution of borrowings across several areas is similar to that noted by Aristova for the earlier times of the 20th century. However, there are more borrowings in the area of politics, arts, culture and colloquial language in the 1970s. Borrowings in the 1970s stem from all sociocultural areas, whereas before they had occurred only in specialised, distinct areas (cf. Krysin 2004: 154).

Scholarship on language change and foreignisms in the 1970s adopts a largely negative stance on loanwords and deplores the absence of literary masters like Leskov, Nekrasov or Tolstoy who know how to use the Russian language artfully and respectfully (e.g. Yakovlev 1976). In these works, Lenin's words on borrowings are usually cited: “Русский язык мы портим, иностранные слова употребляем без надобности... Не пора ли нам объявить войну употреблению иностранных слов без надобности?” (We spoil the Russian language, we use foreign words without necessity... is it not time for us to declare war against the unnecessary use of foreign words? (1935: 662). Anglicisms were considered pollutants that must be eliminated or tightly controlled. There are disparities in theoretical grounding of language change and linguistic research in general between Russian research and Western

research, reaching until the present day. These differences have been attributed to a lack of sociolinguistic study in Russian scholarship (Zybatow 2000: 4).

The criticism of borrowing notwithstanding, by the early 1980s, anglicisms had become a stylistic device of media style (Mzhel'skaia & Stepanova 1983: 126). English was also used to convey positive sentiments in the graffiti subculture in the 1980s (Bushnell 1990: 56). Several claims about borrowing in Soviet times, for example that only specialised terminology entered the dictionary, whereas borrowed slang words did not take hold (Haarmann 2000: 741) or even that there was almost no borrowing during Soviet times (Steinke 2006) can be easily disputed with the findings of the above studies, even though purists during the height of the Soviet period opposed borrowings that were perceived to have equivalent terms in Russian (Cubberley 1993: 333). In schools, British English was taught, and American was considered vulgar and corrupted (Ustinova 2005: 242). In the second half of the 1980s, rapid changes set in with the start of perestroika. Before examining the developments in linguistic borrowing from the late 1980s onwards, I give a summary of official language policy and ideology in the Soviet Union.

4.5. Official language ideology in the Soviet Union

In the early years of the Soviet Union, language policy was focused mainly on the coexistence of Russian and other languages. Safran (1992) identifies three phases in Soviet ethnolinguistic policy. Firstly, indigenization (*korenizatsiia*) during the 1920s aimed to foster indigenous languages. In accordance with this policy, minorities were urged to become literate in their own language, and preliterate languages were given alphabets. At first they were based on the Latin alphabet, later some languages were switched to Cyrillic (Safran 1992: 402). From the 1930s onwards, this policy changed to the support of bilingualism. The study of Russian became compulsory. A choice was offered between schooling in Russian or the local language, with Russian offering far better social opportunities (ibid 403, Lord & Strietska-Ilina 2001: 256). This Russian-leaning policy over time changed to an openly monolingual phase

when Russian was considered the language for world revolution. Soviet language policy was characterised by “1. the deliberate use of the dominant language as a tool of state-building and as a vehicle for political socialization and ideological diffusion; 2. the active involvement of the public authorities in the standardization and dissemination of that language” (Safran 1992: 398). No official language law existed, as this was deemed unnecessary. There had been debates whether a law to protect Russian as the state language was needed. Lenin summed up these debates in “Нужен ли обязательный государственный язык?” (1975) and it was decided that according to the Marxist view the language needed no state protection. Russian’s status of dominant language was thus firmly established.

Information specifically on borrowed words and especially on reactions on borrowings and language change during the Soviet Union is sparse. This scarcity is due to scholarly conventions and restrictions of the time, which did not allow research on such topics. The reigning Marxist theory on language change, developed by Nikolai Marr, stated that language would change as part of the superstructure when the economic base changed. After Stalin refuted this theory, language was officially considered independent from sociopolitical events. Linguistic scholars were forced to backtrack hastily and state that social changes did not affect language (Harlig & Pléh 1995: 8). The fact that foreign borrowings were considered anomalies and therefore not necessary to study as part of ‘regular’ Russian, contributed to the restrictions on researching words that entered from languages spoken by ‘enemies’. (For an overview of the scholastic attitudes in Soviet sociolinguistics and differences to Western scholarship see Harlig & Pléh 1995.)

In the early years of the 20th century, there was also much interest in questions of language culture, or *kul'tura iazyka*. This notion has a long history worth mentioning as its influence reaches well into the present. *Kul'tura iazyka* was coined by Vinokur (1929), and is grounded in Russian formalism. The term was firstly meant to describe the creative, innovative potential of language.

Seifrid (2005: 7) traces the influence of 19th century writings by A.A. Potebnia (1835-91) to the 20th century, Russian symbolism, Futurism, and structural

linguistics (e.g. Jakobson) and also to the concept of *kul'tura iazyka*. Language was linked strongly to issues of selfhood in writing on *kul'tura iazyka*. The notion of language expressing and containing characteristics of the self is an essentialist view of language, but the early writing on *kul'tural iazyka* still sees creative potential in language. The consolidation of Stalinist rule around 1930 constituted the outer border of this writing on selfhood and language, but the concept of language culture lived on, albeit in a restricted way. Later in Soviet times *kul'tura iazyka* would be understood as restrictive measures to cast out unwanted, 'uncultured' elements and keep a standard norm intact (Gorham 2000: 202). In addition, speech culture (*kul'tura rechi*) was developed as a separate linguistic discipline in Soviet times (Vinogradov 1961, 1964). The study of speech culture purely denoted the adherence to codified norms. Departing from the literary norm was not acceptable. The use of nonstandard language was strongly restricted and condemned. The notion of Russian as a static unchangeable entity that must be cultivated and cared for has been developed from the original concept of *kul'tura iazyka*. Upholding the standard and promoting strict norms, with Russian as the dominant language, became firm policy throughout Soviet times.

5. Linguistic borrowing – perestroika to present day

5.1. Perestroika and 1990s

At the time of the large-scale political, economic and social restructuring measures under Gorbachev's rule known as perestroika, linguistic borrowing increased rapidly, as might be expected. It was a time of reorientation when censorship was eased, dialogue with western countries was renewed and fundamental assumptions about how the state and society were meant to operate were overthrown. Due to renewed, stronger ties and association with Western European countries more words were borrowed (Krysin 2004: 188). Cultural ties as well as new economic realities entailed new words, but lexical development during perestroika and post-Soviet period was by no means restricted to borrowing only. It also included the rehabilitation of religious vocabulary, the activation of pre-Soviet words relating to economics and of

words previously regarded as bookish (Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade 1999: 76f; Rathmayr 1991). Changes in the press meant that journalists gained more freedom of expression; words that had hitherto been censored were now permissible. After the breakdown of the Soviet Union, far-reaching changes swept the language. The changes can be considered as a two-way process: De-Sovietisation and Westernisation. Stylistic devices, new genres and linguistic effects were deployed that had been unthinkable in Soviet times (Dunn 1999: 8). Thus, new more dialogic forms of communication appeared (Romanov 2000: 80). The explosive nature of these changes can be attributed to the sudden removal of censorship, and the abrupt change in the socio-political situation (Mokienko 1999: 73).

5.1.1. Borrowed words

New topics no longer forbidden by censorship (e.g. sex or violence) as well as new concepts (e.g. market economy (Haudressy 1992) led to borrowings from English and calques and English influences on morphology and intonation. Despite the great influence of US culture, it is not always possible to prove that all English borrowings are Americanisms, as many borrowed words are used throughout the English-speaking world and exist in the context of international jargons, like computer slang, market economical terms, music etc. (Dunn 2000: 15; 91). Dunn (2000: 92) indeed suggests borrowings might be better explained within the context of a linguistic globalisation rather than just English influence on Russian. However, it is known what semantic areas are borrowed from. According to Dunn (2000: 87), most loanwords of the 1990s fall into a limited number of semantic areas:

- Market economics (*аудит, бизнес-план, брокер, ваучер, декларировать, дилер, дистрибьютор, инвестор, контракт, лизинг, маркетинг, менеджер, опцион, офис, офшор, прайс-лист, пролонгировать, промоутер, риэлтор, спонсор, спонсировать, такс фри, тендер, трейдер, фьючерсы*)

- Political system (*имидж, имиджмейкер, инаугурация, легитимные, лобби, лоббировать, мажоритарный, мэр, парламент, пропорциональный, сенатор, спикер, спич, спичрайтер, электорат*)
- Sex and violence (*бойфренд, гей, гей-клуб, гомосексуал, секс-шоп, стрип-шоу, киллер, рекетир*)
- Mass media (*блок-бастер, клип, масс медиа, ньюсмейкер, прайм-тайм, пресс-релиз, продюсер, слоган, спот, таблоид, ток-шоу, триллер, шоу, шоу-бизнес, эксклюзивный*)
- Technology and computing (*браузер, релиз, принтер*)
- Youth culture (see also Davie 1997)

5.1.2. Language attitudes in the 1990s

In the first years after the breakdown of the Soviet Union, the absence of censorship and new linguistic modes of expression were adopted enthusiastically (Dunn 2000).

In Soviet times the language was strictly codified and any deviation from the standard language was condemned. Now, the single norm was replaced by micronorms determining what is acceptable in what context (Dunn 2000: 99).

Politicians were praised for speaking without reading prepared texts, and the media were enjoying unprecedented freedom of expression. This was a source of liberation, but also potential confusion. Indeed, as feelings of chaos intensified, liberalism and linguistic democratization lost their allure, and calls were made to strengthen Russian from the mid 1990s onwards (Gorham 2006: 25).

Scholars agree that language norms in Russian are still changing, but that a new norm has not been created yet, as often happens in conjunction with a period of linguistic activism in the particular society of the time (Vepreva 2006). Almost all scholars state that the language situation of perestroika and the 1990s is similar to that after the October revolution, in that the lexical items of previously non-standard language are acceptable. Scholars have different names for the penetration of this type of lexis into the standard language: democratisation, vulgarisation, or rebuilding of the norm (Ermakova 2000: 65). Within academic scholarship on anglicisms, a

widespread approach advocates moderate purism (e.g. Rakhmanova 1997: 211), supporting the use of loanwords that have entered the language long ago, but discarding new, ‘unnecessary’ ones. In this discourse of moderate purism, borrowings are classified into handy, useful ones and those that are either dangerous or obsolete and unmotivated (e.g. Pelikh 2004, Diakov 1999: 113, Neshchimenko 2000).

Many scholarly commentators also express the belief that a strong language like Russian can borrow and internalise foreign words and emerge even stronger than before (Mokienko 1999: 82), and that borrowings are a matter of mere fashion, adding momentary prestige, and will soon enough disappear or become integral parts of the language (Kostomarov 2000: 511, Diakov 1999: 114, Brodsky 1999: 77). Maximova (2002: 197) distinguishes between two types of attitudes to borrowing in Russian: purism (a desire for the language to be kept clean), or considering lexical borrowing inevitable and as an enrichment. During glasnost and the early 1990s, purist views were relegated to academic conferences and low print-run journals and books, and thus not exposed to the wider public (Gorham 2009: 181). Many works on language change and borrowings have a strong emotional component (Krysin 2004, Mokienko 1999: 72). Authors fear, for example, that television, cinema and pseudo-culture “scrupulously destroy our linguistic ecology, devaluing the Russian word and its spiritual essence” (Savel’eva 2000: 50, my translation) or compare the Russian language to the essential nourishment of breast milk (ibid 197). Some Russian scholarly reactions in the 1990s to language change did not differ in tone or methodology from works of Soviet times (Mokienko 1999: 72).

However, these views can sometimes be combined and occur on a continuum, and purist tendencies may be latent in attitudes that profess to be reasonable. On specific attitudes towards (general, not just linguistic) influences from the West, Romanov notes that the general attitude of the Russian people towards developments like the new market economy and the resulting unfair distribution of resources was perceived negatively. Also the general literature on Western influences suggests that the West has too much influence and that therefore the Russian character is threatened (Romanov 2000: 71ff). Gorham (2000) finds two types of discourse on language in the 1990s: firstly a perspective on language as a weapon for social change, on the

other hand viewing language more as historically rooted and pure. Importantly, both types of discourse articulate language issues as a struggle for authority and drawing boundaries between self and other (ibid 318). Similarly, in discourse on foreignisms, whether a particular feature is deemed good or bad, all arguments have the same notion at their base: who has the authority to determine correctness, and who belongs to the in-group and who does not.

Romanov's survey (2000) of attitudes towards borrowings gives insights on public language attitudes in the late 1990s. The survey of 150 people in St Petersburg in 1998 revealed that 72% of participants rated anglicisms and Americanisms negatively. The negative feelings towards anglicisms are, according to Romanov, engendered not only by the foreign sound and feel of word, but also by a negative view of what they denote (Romanov 2000: 70). Romanov hypothesized that the younger the participants, the more tolerant they would be of foreignisms. Furthermore, he postulated that the level of an individual's education and especially their command of English would have an impact on reception (the higher educated and more fluent in English, the more receptive). However, he found that none of these factors made a significant difference. The only difference he discovered in respondents' attitudes was the preference of older people for a more restrictive language policy (2000: 55f). In the responses recorded, 50% of individuals considered the borrowing of anglicisms not always justified, 18% considered them mostly justified, whilst 26.7% believed the Russian language was suffering as a result of anglicism borrowing. 57.3% stated that the use of anglicisms that have a Russian equivalent must be restricted somewhat (несколько ограничивать). 24% of respondents wanted more restriction and a cleansing of the Russian language, but only 4% demanded strict legislation. 14.7% preferred no political involvement in language issues at all.

The responses to Romanov's survey can be interpreted to show a majority of positions within a grey area: The 68% of respondents who regard borrowing 'mostly' or 'not always' justified believe that a certain number of borrowed words is acceptable, but that there is a limit, and that borrowings can be useful or superfluous. This argument holds a prominent position in the metadiscourse, where a

commonsense, unspecified middle ground is constructed that permits a wide range of quite polarised opinions to be acceptable (see ch.5 section 4). The responses regarding possible measures to manage the language situation show a similar trend. Romanov's results suggest that most respondents, regardless of age and education, want some restriction, but no absolute, strict measures.

5.1.3. Language policy in the 1990s

In 1990, for the first time, Russian's status of official state language was codified by the law on the languages of the peoples of the USSR (Neroznak et al 2002). Official status was given to national languages of other ethnic groups in republics of the Russian Federation (Mikhalchenko & Trushkova 2003: 263). In some former Soviet republics, initiatives against Russian were taken and efforts made to strengthen the national language (for a summary of the development of Russian in Post-Soviet countries apart from Russia, see Pavlenko 2008). The language law was furthered in 1998, the status of Russian as the state language of Russia was confirmed by the augmentation of the existing language law (Russian Federation. Federal Law No. 126-ФЗ “О внесении изменений и дополнений в Закон Российской Федерации «О языках народов РСФСР»”. 24 June 1998).

Discussions regarding the question of language culture and the state of the Russian language in itself, not just in its function as state language, had already emerged in the late 1980s. A law to protect Russian was suggested. However, the idea of passing such legislation was abandoned during the 1990s, as the question of protecting minority languages was considered more important (Neroznak et al 2002).

Apart from legislative steps, official policy measures included the formation of the Russian Language Council and the federal target programme to support the Russian language. The Russian language council was formed in December 1995 by presidential ukaz No. 1221. Its role was to prepare suggestions as to how the Russian language could be supported and developed. It was abolished in 1997, but later reinstated (see below). In 1996, the first federal target programme «Русский язык»

was established by decree No. 881, for the time span 1996-2000, to strengthen the position of Russian in near abroad (former Soviet states) as well as further away. However, these policy measures were not a central concern of the administration and not widely discussed in the media.

5.2. Borrowing in the 2000s

The amount of borrowing has not lessened in the 2000s. Business links between East and West have been growing within the market economy, and continue to be a source for borrowing. Employees of Western firms in Russia are required to be proficient in English, leading to an environment where words are more easily understood and borrowed. These new words are distributed by the media, and journalists use them to calculated effect (Chachibaia & Colenso 2005: 130). Furthermore, the continuing development of technology, especially in computing and IT related spheres, and the continuing dominance of English in this sector have created another area of borrowing. In short, English dominates borrowings on all levels of Russian.

5.2.1. Borrowed words

In the first years of the 21st century, more and more borrowings from a variety of registers and areas have been entering the Russian language. A large proportion of new borrowings stems from IT-related areas, as the spread of personal computing and in particular the internet requires a vocabulary to name new devices and concepts. The language of computing and the internet is undisputedly English – most programming languages are based on English grammar and vocabulary, and 80% of websites are in English (Rosenhouse & Kowmer 2008: 6). Although in the 1990s only a limited number of people in Russia were able to use the new online infrastructure, and therefore many people may not come into direct contact with the new words (Neshchimenko 2000: 183), this number has been steadily rising to 43% of the population in 2010 (Internet World Stats website). As well, the words have been filtering down into other domains. They are used constantly, have been adapted, and Yelenevskaya (2008: 115) notes that wordplay with new borrowings from the

domain of IT occurs. Meanwhile, borrowing of business and economic terminology continues apace as well.

5.2.2. Language policy in the 2000s

The reception of anglicisms and official policy measures show that English borrowings were increasingly perceived as a problem in the 2000s. Initiatives for the care of the Russian language were started to oppose the steady flow of borrowings and other language changes. In the early 2000s, the Russian language was made a top political priority by then president Vladimir Putin, as part of the ‘vertical of power’ policies. Official writing from 2002 on Russian language legislation openly calls for a language law that elevates the status of Russian, in accordance with the policies of the vertical of power: “следует подумать об изменении или повышении статуса русского языка в российском законодательстве о языках, что вполне соответствовало бы проводимой сейчас политике укрепления российской государственности и вертикали власти.” (One should think about a change or elevation of the status of the Russian language in Russian language legislation, which would be entirely consistent with the policy of strengthening of the Russian political system and the vertical of power carried out at the moment) (Neroznak et al 2002). A practical step towards developing language policy was the preparation of a bill in 2002 on the state language of the Russian Federation, putting Russian as the official language of the multicultural state and purifying Russian from unnecessary borrowings (Ustinova 2005: 240f). These legislative efforts culminated in the adoption of a new Russian language law in 2005. The *Law on the State Language of the Russian Federation* (2005) includes a point on limiting the usage of borrowed words. It states that foreign borrowings must not be used in the state language when an equivalent Russian word exists (“за исключением иностранных слов, не имеющих общеупотребительных аналогов в русском языке”). This law has provoked negative reactions (see ch.5, 3.4.1.4), not least for using the word ‘аналог’ in its text, thus effectually breaking it itself already.

Policy measures were not restricted to legislative efforts. In 2000, another Federal Target Programme for the furthering of Russian came into effect, covering 2000 to 2005. The aims of this target programme differed from the previous programme. There was a new emphasis on the development and support of Russian as a specifically national language and also on the «духовное возрождение и обновление России» (spiritual renaissance and renewal of Russia), reflecting the government's focus on state building and nationhood (Decree No. 883). A subsequent target programme was in effect from 2005 to 2011, and another one has been signed for 2011-2016 (Decree No. 492). Other official debates on language and borrowing include round tables, for example a round table on 7th November 2006 in the State Duma on financial innovations and the fate of Russian («Финансовые инновации и судьба русского языка») debated how to develop finance vocabulary and make borrowings understandable to Russian speakers or eliminate them (Rodin 2006).

Language matters were a central item on the political agenda, even more so when the year 2007 was declared the year of the Russian language by Vladimir Putin. As part of this initiative, a language website (www.gramota.ru) was founded to provide information about every aspect of the Russian language. The emphasis of this website is on speaking and writing correctly. Language contests were held and special television programmes aired. There were numerous radio broadcasts teaching the masses how to speak proper Russian like good citizens (see Ryazanova-Clarke 2006 for a discussion), and news coverage to create awareness of the year of the Russian language. It has been shown that the vigorous initiatives to promote language topics, create language policy and awareness of linguistic standards are closely connected to consolidating nationalist tendencies and official rebuilding of national identity (Ryazanova-Clarke 2006, 2007). Borrowed linguistic material has been one of the foci of these initiatives.

5.3. Attitudes towards foreignisms in the 2000s

The 1990s were characterised by a lack of widely publicised purist language attitudes, as stated above (4.1.2). Instead, in the early perestroika days, language was seen as an instrument for change. Gorham describes the arguments in the main journals on language, *Russkaia rech'* and *Russkii iazyk v shkole*, as couching language in revolutionary terms, part of the Soviet development (Gorham 2000: 617). Then, at the end of the 1990s, there was a shift to regarding language more as an organic entity, bound to national freedom, rather than the civic freedom of perestroika days.

At this time, the culture of language and culture of speech movement (see 4.5) experienced a revival. Gorham shows that popular terms in research underline this: *iazykovoï vkus*, *ekologiia iazyka* (linguistic taste, ecology of language). They place an emphasis on the organic character of language and strongly argue against foreign influences (2000: 620). This view has endured and gained credence over the first decade of the 2000s. Notions of Russian containing a specific world view and assumptions about the linguistic map of the world (*iazykovaia kartina mira*) became “the source of a productive industry of scholarship that attempts to look for clues about national identity through quintessentially Russian terms” (Gorham 2010: 176). Discussions on language legislation and regulation appeared at the end of the 1990s and were linked to the discussions on language culture: “Language culture is understood in this context more as language cultivation, with a clear didactic agenda, grounded in an elitist view of the standard language as the only acceptable norm.” (Lunde & Roesen 2006: 8). Gorham (2009: 168) detects an underlying assumption that major language problems exist. His studies find that qualified language specialists, when asked to comment, will denounce purism, argue that the Russian language is alive and healthy, but lament that its speakers ‘harm’ the language. The danger of foreign words is perceived to reside in their incomprehensible or falsifying character. An often-cited example is the word *киллер* (contract killer), considered less dangerous-sounding than *убийца* (killer) (Kostomarov 2000: 505) (although the former specifically means ‘contract killer’ in Russian).

Yelenevskaya (2008: 119) summarizes the Russian academic criticisms of borrowing: Russian scholars state that borrowing leads to information emptiness and misunderstandings, or doubling and redundancy, and introduces an alien mentality into Russian. Much of Russian writing on language posits a major link between the Russian language and the Russian mentality, a perspective that finds ‘world views’ inherent in a language, a place where clues to national identity can be found (Gorham 2009: 175f). This summary of recent scholarly attitudes towards borrowing and linguistic change shows that although researchers shy away from open calls for sealing the language from outside harm, language is still considered the locus of national identity and mentality and must be kept pure. The study of language ecology gained ground, including rhetoric of the dirty landscape that must be cleaned (Ryazanova-Clarke & Wade 1999: 335). Although scholars consider Russian strong, they are concerned about speakers’ behaviour and what consequences it might have for the development of the language. The theme of national security and nation building in Russian metadiscourse is reinforced by warnings of danger from the West and former Soviet states and metaphors of words sneaking in like spies. Conceptualising borrowings and de-Cyrillicisation in the electronic media with invasion and violation of borders furthers this theme (Ryazanova-Clarke 2006: 36, 38). The analysis shows that such discourses are spread in the media metadiscourse too.

6. Summary

Summarising the history of borrowing from English in Russian, it is evident that social change entails language change, and that the process of borrowing is complex. It is difficult to determine when a word was borrowed and from where precisely, and it is hard to gauge the impact of different language policies. Romanov gives the following table showing how quantities of borrowings developed:

Table 2: The Development of Linguistic Borrowing

Time period	Contact characteristics	Approx. quantity anglicisms
1553-1649	Mainly oral	A few tens
1696-1725	Written and oral	150 words
1790-1870	Written	420-450 words
1970-1990	Written	600 words
1990-now [1998]	Written, oral, telecommunications	1200-1500 words

(Romanov 2000: 123)

The distinct phases of borrowing and then lessening of borrowing described above are summarised as follows. Aristova (1978) finds, until the 19th century, three periods of intensified relations between Russia and Great Britain: 1553-1649, when spoken contacts developed, the Petrine age (1697-1725), and the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century. In the 20th century, periods of intense borrowing (1900-1917, 1930s, 1960s) were interspersed with periods of less borrowing (post-revolutionary decade, 1940s-50s, 1970s). These developments correspond to the character of the political regime. Consequently, with the onset of perestroika, linguistic borrowing increased exponentially and has not halted since although official attitudes have become outspokenly negative. In times of liberalisation, there was more borrowing; at times of war and of “ideological tightening of the screws” there was much less borrowing (Romanov 2000: 34).

The borrowing process is mostly founded on prestige, as was shown that the language of the dominant country is the donor language. Borrowing from English in Russian has occurred in stages, growing gradually stronger in accordance to both the status of English in the world and the political situation in Russia and its relations with Anglophone countries. English was the language of the powerful British Empire, but more relevant for the Russian situation in the 20th century is the rise of US commerce and industry, and its technological leadership after the 2nd World War. Today, English is the main language of widespread communication industry and technology, and the established lingua franca of international communication. In post-Soviet Russian, “the power of English lies in associations, and the associations

are strong: Vibrant capitalism, affluent lifestyles, technological advancement, global domination and supremacy” (Nettmann-Multanowska 2003: 20). After the breakdown of the Soviet Union, the West and especially America were no longer forbidden territory, but sources of inspiration and of borrowing. However, a backlash occurred later, at least on the official policy level: borrowing is now officially restricted, and measures aiming at strengthening Russian as a national heritage and marker of identity are in place. Language mixture and foreign words “have always prompted strong emotional reaction, often in the form of ridicule, passionate condemnation, or outright rejection.” (Winford 2003: 1) These reactions can be found readily in Russian discourse on foreignisms. In times of intensive borrowing, much polemical debate occurs between purists and those who welcome change. Purism is often connected to nationalist or patriotic sentiments (Romanov 2000: 41f). Although some scholars (e.g. Neustupny 1989: 216; Pfandl 2004: 121; Ward 1986: 307) do not perceive purist sentiments in Russia at any time, it is clear from the above examples that language debates have been flourishing in Russia at all times. Haarmann (2000: 38) states that although the new linguistic phenomena are new by appearance, the general tendencies, mechanisms and underlying principles are the same as at other times of linguistic change. Purism and attempts to resist or subvert language change have not changed the fact that words have been borrowed, but the socio-political background has an obvious impact on the amount of borrowed words and language attitudes, as the above summary has shown. At times of national consolidation and perceived threat, borrowing is connoted negatively. Those efforts notwithstanding, English continues to leave its mark on Russian. As everywhere else, English has had a profound effect on Russian speakers: “no language has touched the lives of so many people, in so many cultures and continents, in so many functional roles, and with so much prestige, as has the English language since the 1930s” (Kachru 1990:5).

The history of borrowing in Russian has shown that reactions to borrowing and indeed tendencies of borrowing themselves are closely connected to political developments. In conclusion, I hypothesize that in times of opening towards the West and liberalisation (such as in the years following the breakdown of the Soviet

Union), reactions towards new words found in the metadiscourse will be largely favourable. In later years, under the reign of Vladimir Putin from the early 2000s, themes of Russian national identity building were foregrounded and moves towards greater state influence (particularly in the media) were made. I postulate that reactions towards linguistic change incorporating foreign elements become increasingly negative at this time. Reactions towards borrowing are steered by language ideology – at different times different foreign words were deemed acceptable, and the role of language was viewed differently. Chapter 2 shows how language ideology operates, how it hinges on common, shared knowledge and the construction of common sense. The subsequent analysis of print media metadiscourse on foreignisms demonstrates how language ideology is spread in the media, and how metadiscourse employs and stylises the historical periods described above.

Chapter 2: Linguistic Culture and Metadiscourse

1. Introduction

This chapter presents a theoretical framework for the analysis of the reception of anglicisms in Russia, focusing on linguistic culture and language ideology. Russian debates on foreignisms single out one particular aspect of language use, but involve central, shared notions on the character of the Russian language as a whole. Rather than just concerning linguistic matters, language debates are part of the cultural landscape of the community and integral to the formation and perpetuation of a shared identity. This chapter presents theories to account for the role of language debates within a community, and the ideological underpinnings of the discursive negotiation of linguistic matters. Aitchison (2003: 42) lists several historical examples of conceptualisations of language from a Western European perspective:

- a conduit (Locke)
- a tree (Schleicher, mid 19th century)
- a wave (J. Schmidt, late 19th century, endorsed by Saussure)
- a game of chess (Saussure)
- plants (19th century, Bopp, Grimm)
- buildings (Wittgenstein)

The abstract nature of language is fitted into more easily understood, familiar frameworks with the help of metaphors. These metaphors reveal fundamentally different perspectives on language, for example conceptualising it as a live, growing part of the natural world (tree, plants), a rule-governed game (chess), or a man-made structure (buildings). Such metaphorical theorising of languages is found throughout history. The Russian metadiscourse on foreignisms too features intricate metaphorical constructions; they will be the object of analysis in chapter 4. Concerns of language, its role, character and significance have played a central part in cultural narratives: as well as a central component of individual identity and self-building, language is an integral factor in group building and consolidation. Such theories of language and debates about language are grounded in, as well as constituent elements of, linguistic culture as conceived by Schiffman (see section 5). Discourses on

anglicisms present views on the nature of language itself as well, and ideas about language can support or challenge dominant political agendas, as this chapter shows.

Firstly, a review of literature on the reception of borrowings, both general and in the Russian context, shows that discourses about borrowings function ideologically. Then, the formation and working of language ideologies are examined. From Silverstein's (1979) first mention of linguistic ideologies to current research, scholars have stressed the explanatory power of language ideologies that imposes order on speakers' worlds. This power is symbolic (using Bourdieu's notion), and the explanations provided by language ideologies rely on commonsense argumentation, co-opting the recipients by recurring to assumed common knowledge. Here, the theoretical treatment of ideologies of commonsense and verbal hygiene by Bourdieu (1992), Gal & Woolard (1995) and Cameron (1995) inform my understanding of language ideology.

Metadiscourse and its function are central to this work about language debates, and are discussed as a theoretical concept in detail. The significance of language debates ascribed by their very participants makes metadiscourse an important area of study: "For it is surely a very significant fact about language ... that people hold passionate beliefs about it; that it generates social and political conflicts; that practices and movements grow up around it both for and against the same *status quo*." (Joseph & Taylor 1990: 92)

The section on metadiscourse is followed by a summary of language policy. This work considers language policy as grounded in linguistic culture, a notion first developed by Schiffman (1996). Language policy as grounded in the linguistic culture includes not only official codified norms, legislation and policy, but also semi-official, implicit and unofficial instances of language policy, for example suggestions by language academies, academic research, tacitly accepted ways of speaking, or writing on language in academic publications or the media. The chapter concludes with an exploration of the role of the media in language debates, both as gatekeeper for hegemonic discourses as well as reflecting and shaping wider societal debate on language.

2. Research on the reception of language change

2.1. Discourses of language endangerment

Language change and the appearance of loanwords in particular have been written about mainly from a perspective that concentrates on the provenance of borrowed material, its ethnographic journey, and linguistic adaptation in the target culture etc. (e.g. Matras & Sakel 2007, Hickey 2003, Winford 2003). Studies of attitudes towards linguistic changes have frequently been a by-product of such analyses. Duchêne & Heller's *Discourses of Endangerment* (2007) provides an exception to this trend. The authors explore ideological strategies behind discourses of language endangerment. They find that threat is ascribed to small minority languages as well as, paradoxically, to languages that have a wide reputation as 'destroyers' of linguistic diversity, for example English. The authors deduce that these discourses have more to do with the management of diversity within a framework of opportunities rather than with specific problems of the language itself: speakers do not feel confident making appropriate language choices and see their own variety as threatened (2007: 5). These discourses of danger indicate a moral dimension of metadiscourse detected by Cameron (see section 6.2).

Russian is a world language – an official language of the United Nations, spoken by 300 million people, and is not under threat of extinction. Yet, as this study shows, discourses of threat pervade in commentaries on language change and foreign influences in Russian. Duchêne & Heller provide an explanation for such discourses in major languages. They have found globalisation to be a key factor in more recent discourses on language endangerment. As it is no longer acceptable to claim empire status openly by discourses of political coercion, language communities fall back on discourses that are acceptable and valuable, for example of cultural heritage, diversity, and open harmonious communication. Thus, a positive image of the language as a precious heritage is constructed (Duchêne & Heller 2007: 6). In the Russian context, the breaking up of the Soviet Union and the loss of prestige of Russian in former Soviet republics add another dimension of potential threat (see chapter 1 section 4.1.3).

Other research finds that discourse on language change blames speakers for negative changes. Milroy states that popular attitudes view language change negatively and consider it to stem from speakers who are misbehaving: “[Attitudes] commonly conceive of languages as ideal and perfect structures, and of speakers as awkward creatures who violate these perfect structures ... These attitudes are strongly expressed and highly resistant to rational examination.” (1992: 31f). Such attitudes are based on the linguistic fallacy of language as a fixed code (Harris 2002), and also often hinges on an imagined pure linguistic past that has been corrupted by innovation (Spolsky 2004: 22). Previous research has found that discourses on language change in general construct threat, spreading a notion of language as a fixed, separate entity that speakers violate with careless or malicious speech.

2.2. Research on the reception of foreignisms

Studies of discourses specifically on foreign elements in a language find construction of threat that separates the self from the dangerous Other. Previous scholarship argues that language change and foreign borrowings are widely and often heatedly debated in the linguistic community because of the close connection between language, group membership, and national identity. The contributors to a volume on language debates edited by Blommaert (1999) show how language debates in a variety of communities are bound up with building or defending a certain idea of the nation. Language is presented as a constituent part of the nation and inextricably linked to it (see also the discussion on national language as a symbol in Anderson’s *Imagined Communities*). The obvious nature of foreign borrowings make language debates an ideal arena for those who wish to argue that foreign influences on the country are growing. Spitzmüller (2005) equally shows that lay debates about anglicisms in German media are bound up with anxieties about foreign influence and loss of cultural heritage. Thus, in times of national consolidation after rapid social change, foreign elements are frequently vilified. Research on the reception of foreignisms finds that purism becomes more prevalent when nationalist tendencies appear. Newly appearing foreignisms are obviously alien and can therefore easily become an object of contention: At times of national identity construction, such as in

Russia in the last two decades, the use of foreignisms usually becomes a point of conflict (Ryazanova-Clarke 2008). Several theorists (e.g. Spolsky 2004: 10, 23, Jernudd 1989: 3, Henningsen 1989: 32) link linguistic purism and especially the fight against foreignisms closely to nationalist ideas and the desire to preserve the national Self at times of rapid social changes. Examining discourses about the lexical purity of languages, Duchêne and Heller find that frequently in popular discourses, “(t)he threat is to the very existence of languages ... and requires attention to signs of incursions, understood as virus-like attacks on the essence of the languages in question which necessarily undermine their health and potentially lead to their demise” (Duchêne and Heller 2007: 4). This set of metaphors is also prevalent in Russian metadiscourse, where “the present state of the Russian language is regularly conceptualized through metaphors of disease, dirt and death” (Gorham 2006: 35). In Russian metadiscourse, foreign loanwords are metaphorically associated with themes of aggression between countries and secretive harmful elements (see chapter 4). Once the liberation of language from strict norms in the early 1990s had lost its allure, new norms were called for to rein in the perceived chaos. Neustupny (1989: 217) sums up that “foreign elements are evaluated negatively not because they would be in disagreement with the character of the language, not because they would be harmful to the stability of the language, not because they would be inaccessible to some parts of the population, or historically impure, but because they are foreign.” This assessment highlights the role of language debates for the division of self and other and the consolidation of group membership and identity. Chapter 1 showed such tendencies in the reception of foreignisms in Russian. Linguistic purism especially constructs a clear link between national identity and language by “clear delineation of moral, spiritual, genetic and geographical boundaries – lines between the clean and the contaminated, the sacred and the profane, the historically rooted self and the ahistorical other.” (Gorham 2006: 23). Such purist argumentation has mainly surfaced at times when national identity was contested, debated or consolidated. In such categorisations, and in the linking between the nation and the language, ideological mechanisms are at work. The next section examines how language ideologies operate through the construction of common sense.

3. *Language ideology*

3.1. Ideology as a concept and the roots of linguistic ideology

The term ideology has a long and varied history and is used in many definitions. In language ideology studies, theorists agree to disagree with the view of ideology as Marxian false consciousness that can be overcome by enlightenment, stating instead that ideology is an all-pervasive part of human existence. Apart from this consensus, though, the definition of language ideology is left open (Coupland & Jaworski 2004: 36, see also Mitchell 1986: 3-4, adopted by Hodge & Kress 1979).

This work considers ideology as not fixed and predetermined, but as flexible and changeable, after van Dijk: “shared framework(s) of social beliefs that organize and coordinate the social interpretations and practices of groups and their members.” (1998: 8) This meaning of ideology is unconcerned with whether the representation is false. It is impossible according to this view to be removed from any ideology and adopt an outsider’s view, as everybody exists within an ideology or set of ideologies. Ideology is taken to be an integral part of community practice, but not always as coercive. Therefore, it is not their power to coerce, but their power to explain the social world to individuals and categorise things that gives language ideologies their influential role: competing participants in the language debates try to “discursively ‘dissolve’ their respective ideologies in common sense in order to transform it” (Kulyk 2006: 282). This explanatory power and ability to make sense of things will be explained more below.

Silverstein’s seminal paper “Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology” (1979) marks the beginning of studies of linguistic ideologies as such. In this paper, Silverstein discusses Whorf’s theories of linguistic relativity, stating that speakers use ideas about what their language is like to support ideas they have about themselves as a group. He examines for example how speakers categorise the politeness systems of their language, and what they think this says about their language (1979: 198). Consequently, Silverstein defines linguistic ideology as “any sets of beliefs about language articulated by the users as a rationalisation or

justification of perceived language structure and use” (ibid 193). Speakers explain their linguistic usage using these ideological constructs.

Silverstein’s most important insight for subsequent studies of linguistic ideologies is the thematising of the relationship between language ideologies, selfhood and group identities. Silverstein’s paper was the first step in establishing linguistic ideology as a field of enquiry. However, this field is not neatly categorised by discipline:

Questions of linguistic ideologies are examined in a variety of fields, for example linguistic anthropology, sociolinguistics, discourse studies, cultural studies. Indeed, language ideologies are always linked to other ideologies (e.g. internationalism, cultural pluralism etc) and do not occur by themselves (Ricento 2000: 4). Since the first days of linguistic ideology study, a body of work has been built that, although far from uniform, illustrates how language ideologies function and what role they play in a language community. Language ideologies do not just categorise linguistic behaviour – language attitudes are usually conferred attitudes towards people and groups. Language attitudes and ideologies are not concerned with the language feature per se, but with an awakening of belief about what sort of individual or group uses the language feature (Garrett et al 2003, Niedzielski & Preston 1999: 9).

Dennis Preston's concept of folklinguistics (see chapter 3, 2.2. for details), defined as the body of folk beliefs on language, helps to understand the mechanisms behind language attitudes. Crucially, the study of these beliefs does not aim to expose them as myth or falsities, as their truth value to the believers is not disputed. Instead, it is more enlightening to examine how these beliefs are formed, distributed, and what effect they have. Preston detects several types of metalanguage, and his notion of ‘metalanguage 3’ intersects with language ideology studies (Johnson & Ensslin 2007: 7) Preston terms the underlying beliefs – language ideologies – behind utterances concerning people’s linguistic behaviour metalanguage 3. Such beliefs find their expression in value judgments of linguistic behaviour.

Language ideology imposes structure upon a community’s ideas of which linguistic behaviour is correct and good, which is not, and why. Gal & Woolard define language ideologies as “cultural conceptions of the nature, form and purpose of language, and of communicative behaviour as an enactment of a collective order”

(1995: 130). In their framework of language ideologies, Gal and Woolard (2005: 27) detect a tripartite semiotic process of iconicity, fractal recursivity and erasure. Iconicity applies when supposedly shared qualities of the social image and linguistic image are highlighted. Imagined features and traits of people and groups are thus linked to their linguistic behaviour. In processes of fractal recursivity, contrasts are portrayed on different scales, embedding oppositions – Gal’s example is the opposition of private vs. public, where the opposition will be found again in the private, e.g. a house, whilst essentially private, can have private and public domains. Erasure in this context means “forms of forgetting, denying, ignoring, or forcibly eliminating those distinctions or social facts that fail to fit the picture of the world presented by an ideology.” (Gal 2005: 27) As stated before, language attitudes and ideologies are always bound up with other ideologies and not independent. Judith Irvine calls language ideologies “cultural (or subcultural) system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests.” (1989: 255)

Language ideologies are considered in this work common conceptions of the nature, purpose and function of language, and what is acceptable linguistic behaviour. Crucially, these ideologies operate by appearing as common sense. An important element of Gal and Woolard’s framework of language ideology is the study of how discourses of language ideology become “authoritatively entextualised”, what processes make them accepted, authoritative knowledge. The process of entextualisation relies on endorsement by powerful individuals and institutions. Language ideologies are not simply picked up by popular wisdom and public opinion, but must be reproduced and disseminated by a variety of institutional, semi-institutional and everyday practices (Blommaert 1999: 10). The result of these processes is normalisation – ideological claims are then perceived as the natural, normal way of thinking and acting. Blommaert takes the notion of institutionally disseminated common sense from Pierre Bourdieu and his theories of linguistic capital and symbolic power, discussed in detail below. Bourdieu speaks of “tangible self-evidences” (2000: 181), manifestations of processes of commonsense-making: these are the ‘facts’ that are presupposed as common, sensible knowledge. Such

processes “tend to give an illusory representation the appearance of being grounded in reality” (ibid), whilst their claim to authority and acceptance lies not in rational arguments and observable fact, but in the power of those who entextualise them.

3.2. Ideology: language and symbolic power

Kroskrity’s definition of language ideologies emphasises their connection to power: He states that language ideologies “often index the political economic interest of individual speakers, ethnic and other interest groups, and nation states.” (Kroskrity 2010: 192) But because language is not inherently powerful, language ideologies must invest it with symbolic power. The French sociologist Pierre Bourdieu, whose writing on power relations has crucially shaped sociological thought, has written extensively on the symbolic power of language. Bourdieu’s theories connect symbolic power to particular linguistic features and explain how the linguistic status quo is achieved and upheld. Bourdieu presents symbolic systems as at once structuring and structured entities, creating a consensus about the social world (1990: 160).

Power is conceptualised by Bourdieu not only as violence used to subdue, but also as a more subtle force that works by gaining compliance. Language is used as an instrument of power, but in Bourdieu’s view it is not an obviously coercive one: Bourdieu stresses that symbolic power is invisible and can only be exercised with the complicity of those who are subjected to it. The symbolic power of language does not reside in the system but is the transferred power of those who have the authority to decide what correct linguistic behaviour is. Bourdieu states that “as soon as one treats language as an autonomous object ... one is condemned to looking within words for the power of words, that is, looking for it where it is not to be found.” (1991: 107)

Linguistic capital and the linguistic market are vital Bourdieusian notions that help to grasp the principles underlying linguistic ideology. In his theory of the linguistic market, Bourdieu describes language use in economic terms: Different ways of speaking have different values and indicate different social standing. Speakers must

produce appropriate language to negotiate their daily lives, as the wrong linguistic strategy may lead to social exclusion.

Bourdieu mainly writes on the symbolic capital of standard languages as opposed to dialects. According to him, the commonly accepted normative set, the standard language, is taken as such without questioning. The dominant variety is considered the natural standard language. While that all forms of language have equal validity in the professional opinion of linguists, some forms have picked up socially ascribed values to maintain the power of an elite group (Spolsky 2004:16f). According to Bourdieu, “to speak of *the* language, without further specification, as linguists do, is tacitly to accept the *official* definition of the *official* language.” (Bourdieu 1992: 45, emphasis in the original) This official state language, fixed by grammarians and teachers, dominates linguistic activity: it is required by institutions and public life. All other linguistic practices are measured against this ‘standard’ language. Here, Bourdieu perceives the working of symbolic domination (Bourdieu 1992: 51). The standard language is portrayed as the most desirable one to attain, against which all others are found lacking (Bourdieu 1992: 55). Competent speakers of the dominant variety (usually what is considered the standard) who thus possess a large linguistic capital uphold their language as the dominant one in formal markets, for example in education. Their way of speaking is socially advantageous, so they strive to defend this capital, waging a “total struggle ... to [save] the market” and the advantages it grants them (1991: 56f). This struggle is played out in metadiscourse. Dominant social groups exercising power in society will use linguistic acts for the acquisition, maintenance, and exercise of power (Annamalai 1989: 227) – because their language variant is considered the desirable standard. Linguistic power can be exercised in a variety of ways, for example in requirements for a specific variety of language for particular institutions. This use of power is effective as it excludes certain agents from communication and thus makes it impossible for them to shift the power balance maintained by linguistic capital (Bourdieu 1991: 138). Bourdieu’s insights on how certain ways of speaking are ascribed prestige can also be applied to the present context of linguistic borrowing.

3.3. Common sense

Language ideologies must be brokered by powerful agents, but their symbolic power lies in the naturalisation of attitudes as commonsense knowledge. Language ideology studies are centrally concerned with how common sense is created. Rumsey indeed defines language ideologies as “shared bodies of commonsense notions about the nature of language in the world” (Rumsey 1990: 346f). Common sense is constructed from a “structured pattern of semiotic resources that misrecognizes the arbitrary and re-signifies it as inherently logical, natural, and morally good. (Milani 2007: 114). Ideology works most effectively when it is perceived to be the natural state of things, when a particular argument is not seen as a strategy to persuade, but as perfect common sense. Bourdieu, as seen above, shows that portraying certain rules or practices as commonsensical serves the interests of those in power, seeking to preserve the status quo that awards them this power. Here, the Bourdieusian notion of doxa can help to address what happens when common sense is under threat (Bourdieu 1977). Doxa is unthought, unquestioned belief, taken as universal truth and determining an individual’s actions. These beliefs have become entrenched in a community and are not considered to be imposed on individuals, but perceived as the natural order of things. Doxa can, however, be challenged by heretical discourses aiming to establish a new order. Heretical discourse can be produced, for example, in times of rapid social changes. The reigning order is challenged by heretical subversion which changes the representation of the social world, giving an alternative version. In such a case, socially dominant individuals, groups or institutions (those with the high symbolic power) revert to reactionary discourse, striving to halt or reverse changes. Seemingly simple, obvious, commonsensical arguments are used to clarify the need to speak or behave in the old, ‘normal’ way. The doxa is portrayed as innocent and universally authoritative in order to protect the interests of the dominant group.

Such processes can be expected in Russian linguistic debates. As shown in chapter 1, the dramatic changes of the last twenty years, starting with Perestroika, mean that

many formerly commonly established linguistic rules no longer seemed to apply. The resistance of those with competence in old ways of speaking must be expected. If what Bourdieu calls the “silence of the doxa” (the accepted practice, discourse and knowledge which helps to establish relations of power, 1990: 131) is threatened to be broken, dominant groups produce reactionary discourse of common sense to portray the old social order as obvious and necessary. According to Blommaert (1999: 9), language ideological debates occur in specific times and places via ideological brokers who collectively dispute the nature and function of language. These debates have a fuzzy beginning and end, but are clustered around specific events. In this work, however, a longer time span will be examined to capture not just debates at key times, but also to detect discursive patterns that can be traced throughout and examine their development.

The reception, whether negative or positive, of some linguistic changes is often justified with common sense: that it is only natural to speak in a certain way, and that this way is the only correct one. Language ideologies are “dissolved” (Kulyk 2006) in common sense by naturalisation. This naturalisation of language ideology, the authoritative entextualisation which makes it seem logical and reasonable is the systematic exclusion of the personal, according to Gal and Woolard (2001: 149). This is achieved in two ways: firstly, the object – language – is defined as independent of human will. Secondly, the discourse purports to give a view from nowhere, not to have a perspective or bias. Authority is thus claimed by the argument of neutrality and acting in the name of shared concerns of the whole community. The negotiation of these language ideologies by default forms a part of metadiscourse, talk about talk.

The construction of common sense in language matters is related to the creation and perpetuation of linguistic norms. Both what constitutes common sense and norms is essentially arbitrary, but portrayed as logical and obvious. As Bourdieu states, it is grammarians and academicians who “tend to consecrate and codify a particular use of language by rationalizing it and 'giving reason' to it.” (1991: 59) The norms in post-Soviet Russian shifted significantly in what has been termed a landslide (see e.g. a volume of articles on this phenomenon and reactions to it, *The Landslide of the*

Norm (Lunde & Roesen 2006)). Speakers who have acquired the old norm, as Bourdieu found, defend it and their way of speaking vehemently. Common sense rules are portrayed to exist *ex nihilo*, automatically understood and followed by sensible speakers, whereas the concept of norm introduces an external, norm-giving authority. However, this authority must still seem rational and sensible to be accepted as legitimate. In the metadiscourse on anglicisms, norms are always portrayed as common sense agreements that are self-explanatory and require no justification – yet the audience is continually reminded of the need to respect the authority of norms. But norms are not presented overtly as rules or constraints on speakers, rather, it is implied that the sensible in-group of good Russian speakers knows how to behave linguistically because it is only logical and obvious to adhere to the norms. This argumentation strategy makes any discussion about linguistic norms appear superfluous (Milroy 2001: 535f). In this work, I place emphasis on common sense construction rather than norms, as the metadiscourse backgrounds overt discussion about norms and focuses on common sense instead.

4. Language policy

Language policy and planning can show tangible consequences of language ideologies in obvious ways, for example in legislation that sanctions the use of a language or variety. Such overt language policy has been an object of study for several decades, but the scope of what is considered to be language policy has widened. Language planning was first mentioned by Haugen as “the activity of preparing a normative orthography, grammar, and dictionary for the guidance of writers and speakers in a non-homogeneous speech community” (1966: 8). This view of language planning and policy as normative activity emphasises guidance and can include legislation as well. Official language policy includes for example legislation on the state language, rights (or otherwise) of minority languages, official language campaigns and reference works. The study of language planning and policy now covers more types of language policy. The following section gives an overview of

the study of language policy, including the spectrum of official and unofficial language policy and its connection to linguistic culture.

4.1. Language policy as a field of study

The study of language policy has been developed and diversified since its genesis in the 1960s. Ricento (2000) detects three phases of language policy research: In the beginning, emphasis was placed on indigenous languages and writing grammars for them. At the same time, linguistic diversity was considered to pose obstacles to national development, while linguistic homogeneity was associated with modernisation and westernization (2000: 11). In early research on language policy, language is characterised as a valuable resource, a separate entity abstracted from socio-historical and ecological contexts (Ricento 2000: 13). As shown in chapter 1 (section 4.3), a similar trend is found in the Soviet Union from the 1950s onwards. Although no overt language legislation existed, Russian was promoted as the official language of socialist unity.

In the second phase described by Ricento, roughly from the early 1970s to the late 1980s, scholars recognised that planning can have a negative effect, and that hitherto accepted concepts like diglossia and bilingualism are not fixed but ideologically charged. The third phase from the 1990s to the present day is characterised by dominant global events such as mass migration, the breakup of the Soviet Union, and the repatriation of former colonies (Ricento 2000: 23). Scholars of language policy today demand that terms like ‘language policy’ itself as well as ideology or notions of an oppressive dominant language must be problematised, as there are no naturally existing situations that are waiting to be uncovered, and dominance may not be negative. Researchers argue as to whether dominance and imperialism are to be challenged (see e.g. debate between Spolsky (2004) and Phillipson (2007)), but it is universally agreed that “language policies can never be properly understood or analysed as free-standing documents or practices” (Ricento 2000: 7), ideology must not be ignored or sidelined.

Language policy in Russia shows some common threads of all language policies and ideologies. According to Spolsky, there are “two fundamental beliefs, part of the common language ideology of many, if not all, societies. The first belief is that ... speakers can be forced by law to avoid certain kinds of defined language.” The second one is about what should be filtered out because it’s ‘bad’ language – obscenities, profanities (Spolsky 2004: 18). Russian language legislation, it was shown, also stipulates what elements are to be left out, e.g. anglicisms that have a Russian equivalent. What is considered a negative element changes throughout time as it is subject to changing language ideologies. But this official language policy is not the only way language use is regulated. There are many ways of regulating language, official and unofficial ways, spread along a continuum. The connection between symbolic power and language, explained above, shows how unofficial language policy is masked by common sense and therefore potentially even more powerful than official policy.

Official language policy is regarded as absolutely necessary by some to safeguard a language. Others see it as hindering the natural development of a language, or considered futile in times of instant unregulated online communication and publishing. It should be added that the effect of policy on actual language practices is neither guaranteed nor consistent (Spolsky 2004: 8). Official language policy is considered prescriptive, strongly solution based and often restrictive. But there is a variety of different types of language policy, some unofficial. Official regulating poses clear rules for language use, but unofficial and social limitations are at least equally strong: Language policy is a ubiquitous phenomenon, and not necessarily only regulated by official channels. Unofficial language includes metadiscourse, which delineates what counts as good or standard language in a community. These unwritten rules exercise constraints upon the speakers, albeit not always in an obvious manner. Bourdieu’s findings on standard language, linguistic capital, and how it is accumulated and operates covertly, are a case in point. The social advantages that standard language speakers have over non-standard language speakers (as detected by Bourdieu in his model of the linguistic marketplace) are a clear example of implicit language policy (Milroy 2001). But because the community

perceives this process as natural and logical, it is not perceived as explicit policy. All types of language policy are grounded in linguistic culture. The next section will show how language policy and linguistic culture are intertwined.

5. Language policy and linguistic culture

5.1. Linguistic culture

To capture the assumptions and cultural background that language policy emerges from, Schiffman (1996) coined the term ‘linguistic culture’. He defines it as “the set of behaviours, assumptions, cultural forms, prejudices, folk belief systems, attitudes, stereotypes, ways of thinking about language, and religio-historical circumstances associated with a particular language” (1996:5). The linguistic culture encompasses linguistic predispositions, habits, values that a language community holds about its own language and about linguistic behaviour, the history of writing on language, institutions on language, and so on.

A discussion of linguistic culture will always touch on the notion of culture in general. The different understandings of culture are too diverse and the literature too vast to survey here. Culture is in this work understood, after Clifford Geertz, as “a system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which people communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes toward life” (1973:89). The understanding of culture as a system of meanings is crucial to the further discussion of linguistic culture. Culture is regarded as the opposite of nature – something that is made, cultivated, a created system of meanings within a community. Culture forms the background to human experience that inevitably structures behaviour and interaction. The same principles underlie linguistic culture.

Schiffman stresses that language policy is firmly embedded in linguistic culture and cannot be considered to exist by itself: “language policies do not evolve *ex nihilo*; they are not taken off a shelf, dusted off, and plugged into a particular polity; rather, they are *cultural constructs*, and are rooted in and evolve from historical elements of

many kinds, some explicit and overt, some implicit and covert.” (Schiffman 1996: 22) According to Schiffman, no reaction to particular features of language can exist in a vacuum or be based on purely linguistic, objective parameters. As an integral part of human existence, language is an object of constant attention. Cultural assumptions about language shape how linguistic changes, including loanwords, are perceived. As proof of the influence of linguistic culture, Schiffman gives examples of research on language myths concerning Arabic, Japanese, and French (for more discussion on language myth, see chapter 5, section 3.2.1.). He shows that language myths vary widely between these language, and that the differences stem from the particularities of each linguistic culture. Consequently, when analysing the reception of foreignisms in Russia, the specifically Russian linguistic culture must be taken into account, not just as a background, but a constituent part of the discourse.

5.2. The continuum of official and unofficial language policy and symbolic power

Schiffman calls language policy “a belief system, a collection of ideas and decisions and attitudes about language” that is untenable if it is not connected to the linguistic culture. The perceived naturalness of these ideas means that language policy is always implicitly present, even if no official policy exists: There are shared cultural assumptions on the correct way to speak or write, for example (Schiffman 1996: 148). Schiffman claims that the potentially covert operation of language policy within this framework led to criticism of the term linguistic culture, although he gives no details (Schiffman 2006: 112). He asserts that critics considered the term linguistic ideology more appropriate to emphasise the covert, sometimes coercive, nature of language policy. But Schiffman uses the term linguistic culture to emphasise the learned and shared nature of this knowledge (ibid 111). I consider linguistic culture to be the backdrop of all things that are known about language in a culture, what counts as facts about language, what is the ‘sayable’ on the subject (after Foucault) as well as what is not even verbalised because it is so self-evident that it goes without saying (the Barthesian *ce-qui-va-de-soi* (what-goes-without-saying), 1957: 9). Different types of language ideologies can appropriate these ‘facts’

of the linguistic culture in different ways and instrumentalise them in their argumentation, as the analysis will show. This framing of facts and construction of common sense out of them takes place in metadiscourse, talk about talk.

6. Metadiscourse

Metadiscourse is discourse about discourse: The starting point for analysis of metadiscourse is the capability of language to refer to itself. Metalanguage has been dealt with in a variety of traditions; Jaworski et al (2004: 5) list the following:

- functional analysis in linguistics (Hockett, Halliday, Hymes, Bateson, Mey)
- reflexive language in linguistic anthropology and cultural studies (Bauman, Gumperz, Philips, Lucy, Briggs, Irvine, Hanks, Silverstein)
- language ideology (Gal, Woolard, Harris, Schieffelin, Cameron)
- discourse analysis
- anthropological linguistics
- social psychology of language.

Martinez-Guillem (2009) points out that the word metadiscourse is not used consistently across these disciplines. In the linguistic tradition, the term metalanguage is preferred for distinguishing between a language and the jargon used to talk about it, whereas the term meta-discourse has a shorter history within the discipline and is considered as talk about 'natural language' (Martinez-Guillem 2009: 731). She also points out that some scholars (Preston 1996, Berry 2005) use the two terms interchangeably. This work will use the term metadiscourse.

The rationale for studying metadiscourse in these different traditions is that metadiscourse works socially: “If a ‘meta’ dimension of language continually structures social interaction, then all manner of social outcomes and effects can be attributed to it ... Language is not so socially innocent after all.” (Coupland & Jaworski 2004: 19) Therefore, any analyses of the linguistic influences on social relationships, power imbalances, social change etc. must encompass this meta-

dimension. The meta-dimension of language is common ground between disparate fields such as language attitudes, dialect variation, performance studies, anthropological linguistics, and Critical Discourse Analysis (Coupland & Jaworski 2004: 16). A study of language ideology focuses on metadiscourse because it is only through evaluative metadiscourse that these ideologies can be formed and perpetuated. The following gives an overview of the concept of metadiscourse and defines how it is used in this work.

6.1. Different understandings of metadiscourse

The term metadiscourse was first introduced by Roman Jakobson (1960), initially applying to the realm of rhetorical function. Jakobson fits metadiscourse into his classification of the functions of language, listing not only the referential, emotive and conative functions, but also adding the metalinguistic and poetic (1960, 1980). Metadiscourse ensures that the sender and the recipient of a message are using the same code (Jakobson's term) by negotiating agreement on what was uttered and what it meant. Jakobson also considers metadiscourse the "vital factor of any verbal development" (1960: 91) in language acquisition. The early theorists of metadiscourse were concerned with functional aspects, with what language can do. This is also shown in Halliday's model of systemic functional language (1978). According to this model, language has ideational, interpersonal and textual functions. Metalanguage (here understood as how utterances are framed) is part of the textual function. Although the early writing on metadiscourse categorises language into functions, all stipulate that metalanguage cannot be separated out from other language, it is an intrinsic part of it. This understanding continues to inform studies of metadiscourse: "Reflexive language – or language about language ... is a common and practical resource which ordinary speakers make use of in innumerable ways for a wide variety of discourse functions" (Taylor 1997: 10).

Metadiscourse can have a corrective function: Without the metalinguistic dimension to language, meanings would be uncontested. But as there are ways to reflect on language, it is possible to correct others and establish one way of speaking as correct.

This type of metadiscourse – referring to previous utterances of other people – is connected to ideological workings and the upholding of the standard language. For example, corrections of perceived mistakes in others’ speech contributes to maintaining the standard norm (Lucy (1993). The notion of competing voices also ties in with Bakhtin’s concept of heteroglossia (1981, 1984, 1986). Heteroglossia, literally multi-voicedness, encompasses the combination of linguistic forms, the co-existence of past and present linguistic forms, and competing voices in different socio-ideological groupings. Language in this multivocal space is rendered dialogic; discourses echo each other and vie for supremacy (Coupland & Jaworski 2004: 27). The idea of voices vying for supremacy leads us to metadiscourse in another sense: discourse about discourse, language commentary, and language debate, as examined in this work. This type of metadiscourse has a clearly normative function. Indeed, in their key work on metadiscourse, Jaworski et al (2004) depart from the neutral definition of metadiscourse as language about language, and call it instead “language in the context of linguistic representations and evaluations” (2004: 4). Metalanguage is always evaluative and it is specifically this evaluative component that makes it an important object of study, as the evaluation of linguistic behaviour stands proxy for an evaluation of (groups of) people, with potentially serious consequences. It is worth quoting the authors’ rationale for studying metalanguage at length to show the connection between metadiscourse and ideologies of language:

“(T)he metalinguistic function of language is not merely a self-serving capacity of language and an interesting ‘design feature’. How people represent language and communication processes is, at one level, important data for understanding how social groups value and orient to language and communication ... Metalinguistic representations may enter public consciousness and come to constitute structured understandings, perhaps even ‘common sense’ understandings – of how language works, what it is usually like, what certain ways of speaking connote and imply, what they ought to be like. That is, metalanguage can work at an ideological level, and influences people’s actions and priorities in a wide range of ways, some clearly visible and others much less so.” (Jaworski et al 2004: 3)

This metadiscourse has many manifestations: in the legal sphere, language policy, the contributions of people presented as language experts on radio and television programmes, popular science books on language, self-help literature on how to speak

better, internet discussion, academic discourse, articles in journals, magazines and newspapers. Various theorists have dismissed metadiscourse as niche prescriptivism (Cameron 1995 for a summary) and argued strongly against it, but metadiscourse has more facets than restrictive language purism. Folk ideas about language are worthy of study because they can point at wider attitudes and dominant cultural trends that find validation in metadiscourse (Milroy 2001: 538).

6.2. Metadiscourse as verbal hygiene

Analysis of metadiscourse must take into account that speakers are not necessarily labouring under prejudice and ignorance, but that via metadiscourse they commit to certain values. Taylor states that language users value and care about linguistic acts. Their attitudes on what language acts are good or not are revealed in metadiscourse that uses normative and evaluative strategies (1997: 11). In order to find out how elements from the linguistic culture can be used to support particular arguments and how language ideologies are spread, metadiscourse must be analysed. Preston (2004: 75) uses a framework of several layers of metadiscourse to account for the relationship between metadiscourse and underlying evaluative beliefs (this framework is explained in detail in chapter 3). He terms folk metadiscourse (overt comments on language) as ‘metalanguage 1’. This metalanguage consists of a speaker’s conscious judgments of certain linguistic features. However, there are also unasserted shared beliefs behind metalanguage 1; these unasserted beliefs are part of the linguistic culture and can reveal possible motivations of metalanguage 1 (2004: 87). These unasserted beliefs, metalanguage 3, can only be revealed by a close analysis of metadiscourse. Much of metadiscourse is prescriptive, assessing what linguistic features are the norm and what is permissible or not. Discourses on undesirable linguistic elements constitute verbal hygiene, a term used by Cameron in her studies of folk metadiscourse (1995). She detects verbal hygiene at work “whenever people reflect on language in a critical (in the sense of ‘evaluative’) way” (1995: 9). Cameron lists a number of functions of verbal hygiene (1995: 216):

- The upholding of norms in social interaction

- Entertainment for those with an interest in language
- Language debates standing in for other issues
- Shared group project, community construction and consolidation

Above all, this judgmental discourse discerns between what is correct and what is wrong. The categories in this discourse are portrayed as immovable and finite, based on the myth founded on the 'fixed code' notion. Cameron argues that language is used to exclude and intimidate others by those who have a certain practice of speaking (1995: 12). Cameron notes that metadiscourses often connect issues of language to moral order and fear (2004: 313). Speakers see connections between language and reality and deduce that language use can influence their lives in potentially negative ways. Individuals whose way of speaking is considered prestigious are unlikely to welcome changes to this order. Instead, they resist language change so as not to devalue the time and effort they have put into learning their variety. This discourse of value has a moral dimension that moves beyond its apparent object to touch on and mobilize deep desires and fears, only then can it be effective (Cameron 1995: 222). Laypeople wishing to uphold the standard are acting to defend what they deem the natural order of things so they do not perceive their views as discriminatory (Cameron 1995: 4).

The previous research outlined in section 2 has shown that language change and foreignisms are constructed as danger. Metadiscourse on foreignisms is particularly important for construction and consolidation of a national image and identity. Language can stand in for other issues, and language issues can be used for group construction and the upholding of norms of social interaction. Discourses on foreignisms propagate and perpetuate particular linguistic ideologies. The ideological nature of commonsense argumentation is revealed in strategies of portraying certain linguistic features as 'perfectly natural', because as soon as a so-called 'natural' way of speaking is defended by anyone, one admits that this way is not self-evident (Moi 1991: 1026).

7. Metadiscourse and the Media

7.1. Studying media material

This study examines metadiscourse in the print media. The reasons for selecting newspaper texts in particular are presented in this section. Metadiscourse finds an important forum for distribution in the print media, as it gains ideological significance by being perpetuated authoritatively in the media (Coupland & Jaworski 2004: 30).

Bell (1995: 24) lists the following reasons for studying language in the media:

- The accessibility of material on language,
- The influence on and representation of language use and language attitudes in a community in the media,
- The revealing of social meanings and stereotypes projected through language and communication in the media,
- The role of media in forming and expressing culture, politics, and social life.

The media present a wealth of readily accessible data and enable analyses of trends over years. The remainder of Bell's reasons are interconnected. Media outlets are not impartial agents in the information process, but give a particular, biased perspective on any issue.

The media are considered a practice after Fowler (1991: 2) who claims that news is "a discourse which, far from neutrally reflecting social reality and empirical facts, intervenes in what Berger and Luckmann call "the social construction of reality." The media thus do not only repeat or present news factually and neutrally, but they recontextualise discourses from elsewhere (Fairclough 1995). The intertextual quality of print media articles – reporting, quoting, appropriating other discourses – means that they represent a broad spectrum of texts, and constitute an intertextual nexus. The media representation of discourses imbues them with authority. Therefore, the media are an ideal source for studying dominant discourses.

7.2. Media panics

In early media theory, the newsworthiness of particular topics caught the attention of researchers. Galtung and Ruge (1965) for example found that media pick up small issues and spin a story of moral panic and danger. The ascribed danger makes a situation newsworthy and increases its news value when the issue at hand is sufficiently negative. Cameron (1995) echoes this point, talking about the oversensationalisation of news on language, resulting in emotive campaigns, because the topic is not inherently dramatic and thus newsworthy enough. Hall et al (1978: 223) agree that moral panics are created in the media when topics are spun out into dramatic narratives. Thus, the media contribute to overall narratives of language in danger. The media, in selecting material to present and an angle on the material, actively shape the news. Often, this shaping results in the creation of discourses of fear. The media's role in creating panic is specifically relevant in the analysis of a subject as emotive as language which has been shown (section 2.1) to create discourses of threat and fear. In Charteris-Black's words, "We can only be afraid of what the media have brought to our attention." (2004: xii)

7.3. Institutionalised discourse

The media have the power to represent people and discourses. In this sense, they act as a gatekeeper. Althusser (1984) calls the media one of the ideological state apparatuses, perpetuating the discursive norm. The analysis shows that the Russian media are a special case as regards spreading official discourses. While they had in Soviet times been an instrument of propaganda, the lifting of censorship during glasnost and perestroika meant official discourses could then be challenged. However, from the late 1990s onwards the media entered a new phase of state control and ownership. I hold mass media to be an influential, all-pervading apparatus equipped to create awareness of topics – media texts reflect what is suitable to say, what is commonly said and what is important at a particular time. Van Dijk notes that media practises are governed by professional expertise and attitudes about what is true or false, newsworthy or not, interesting or irrelevant.

Narratives are made by symbolic elites: “people who have access to and control over mass public discourses, e.g. politicians, journalists, scholars, writers, directors and policy setting boards of internationally effective media, have preferential control over the re/production and re/creation of hegemonic narratives in mass communication events and hence acquire more power.” (Van Dijk 2005: 187) This renders the media an important platform for powerful individuals, and makes them a resource of their discourses for the researcher. The access to the institutions establishes who can distribute discourse and communicate. This access is mostly possessed by the elites, but van Dijk stresses that especially in times of change there is both top-down control by the elites and bottom-up initiatives by non-elites. There is potential to shuffle the debate, according to who is granted access to the media, Milani and Johnson argue: “In the very act of choosing, citing and 'styling' (Coupland 2007) certain voices (but not others) in particular ways, all media producers have the potential to re-scale social, cultural and symbolic capital, and thereby 're-shuffle' authority and expertise on particular issues.” (Milani & Johnson 2010: 6)

Although newspaper language is different from everyday language, it contains 'normal', habitual ways of expressing ideas and communicates messages successfully to the recipients. Hartley considers media and language as geographical maps rather than windows which allow the audience to view the world undistortedly: “neither news nor language are transparent windows on the world. They are both more like maps of the world. A map differs from the terrain it indicates in very obvious ways, without ceasing to maintain a relationship which allows us to recognize the terrain through it.” (Hartley 1982: 15) An analysis of media discourse over time can show how access to media participants varied over time and how this reveals different ideologies at work. The media thus have a powerful role in language ideological processes, because knowledge about language is authoritatively constructed by the media. They function as gatekeepers in “the regimentation of 'expert systems' (Giddens 1991) on language-related issues.” (Milani & Johnson 2010: 5, see also Woolard et al 1998: 148) In the media, large quantities of varied information must be tied into a familiar, coherent picture for the audience. Therefore an analysis of media

discourse on language reveals how the metadiscourse situates and normalises social phenomena and practices in a way that is compatible with the dominant ideology (Kulyk 2006: 286).

Although the research of media texts over a period of time can give insights into dominant discourses, some caveats apply. Firstly, this study takes a qualitative approach to single out themes and discursive patterns and analyse them closely, rather than giving a statistically comprehensive summary. This analytical strategy was shown to be fruitful in other research on media metadiscourse. Thurlow (2006: 671) uses an “interpretive, critical approach that highlights striking themes rather than statistical patterns” in analysis of print media discourse on the influence of computer mediated communication on the English language. Thus, Thurlow arrives at an informed judgment of typicality by identifying “recurrent narrative resources threaded throughout the corpus” (ibid) and examining what points of view are drawn on and privileged in the media.

The second reservation concerns the impact of the print media. With the popularity of television and the arrival of new media, the role of the print media in Russia has decreased dramatically. Lack of affordability in the 1990s was another factor in falling readership (see chapter 3, 5.2). But examining a range of print media can reveal how an issue is presented in different newspapers and times. Such an analysis shows structural patterns, topical consistencies, emerging cultural narratives, and reveals discursive “regimes of truth” (Foucault 1980: 3) and how they are established. The audience of the print media is also a vital element in metadiscursive analysis insofar as it is a constructed group of people. The sender and receiver of the message are spatially (and in some cases temporally) separated. They bridge the gap between the public and the private domain in both directions (Fairclough 1995: 37). Print media make links between senders and receivers, but also between all receivers because in newspaper articles they are represented as a coherent group. The construction of an audience and the attributes given to this imagined audience can reveal assumptions about the social world that the readers are meant to share. The existence of an imagined audience requires some knowledge to be taken for granted.

What knowledge is taken to be self-explanatory reveals much about the language ideologies at play.

In the print media, a public sphere is constructed, which according to Habermas (1974: 49) is “a realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed”. Nowadays this realm is constituted by news media, television, and the internet. The audience in media language debates are constructed not just as an imagined community of readers, but also as citizens. Therefore “we can understand ‘language ideologies and media discourse’ ... as a field in which the media serves as one institution for the construction of citizens, one dimension of which is their linguistic practice.” (Heller 2010: 278) The media thus construct the language as an important symbol of nationhood and group identity. Language is used in the media as a topic to organise group formation and resources: “language is a terrain for working through struggles over the regulation of resources, that is, over how to organize ourselves and make that organization legitimate in the eyes of involved social actors.” (Heller 2010: 277) Ultimately this makes language debates so important to analyse and renders the media an ideal source for this analysis. The connection between language and self is crucial here: “mediated and mediatized notions of language are central to the envisaging or ‘imagining’ of possible social worlds across both time and space ... Put simply, what we think and say about language as shaped not least by the media is inextricably linked to what we may think and say about ourselves and the world(s) in which we live or, indeed, might like to live.” (Johnson & Ensslin 2007:15)

8. Conclusions

This chapter showed how language ideologies are spread and constructed in metadiscourse and what effect they can have. Firstly I examined what previous scholarship has deduced about metadiscourse specifically on language change. Language change and the appearance of foreignisms are most often viewed as threat, except in times of exceptional cultural openness (e.g. Peter the Great's times, see chapter 1). In discourse of threat, a yearning for the plain speech of old times or ordinary, honest people is often used to express wishes to revert to what is seen as a pure, original state of language (Woolard 1998, Bourdieu 1991: 132). Language is considered as a fixed, immutable code in this discourse. From these results the discussion turned to language ideology. Cameron states that "all attitudes to language and linguistic change are fundamentally ideological." (Cameron 1995: 4) Language ideologies are conceptions on the nature, form and purpose of language, and of what constitutes good language. Language ideologies are most effectively distributed by common sense argumentation – common sense arguments appear less as attempts to persuade than as mere statements of fact, grounded in common knowledge, and therefore easily acceptable. Common sense is the most powerful tool in language ideology because it precludes debate (Milroy 2001: 535) and portrays its tenets as natural, taken-for-granted knowledge. However, details of what is regarded as acceptable or not are susceptible to change. For example, new words that are popularized lose their discriminatory power and tend to be perceived as banal and common (Bourdieu 1991: 64).

Then, the notion of linguistic culture was introduced which helps to conceptualise how language policy and as well as unofficial policy are all dependent on the background beliefs that are taken for granted in a language community. Linguistic culture means all beliefs about language within a culture, beliefs about its role and functions, its characteristics, and what constitutes good and bad language use. Schiffman introduced the term linguistic culture to emphasize that knowledge about language is learned, and is thus subject to change. What constitutes linguistic culture,

what historical facts and narratives a cultural group deems important for language matters, can be considered to be determined by ideological workings. There can be numerous linguistic ideologies that clash, overlap, interact with each other etc., but they are all based in one linguistic culture. Language ideology has however also been used in the singular (Milani 2007), not to deny the diverse nature of the discourse, but to “capture the dissonant coherence of intertwined discourses resting on interrelated arguments, values and assumptions.” (2007: 128) This deduction applies to Milani's research, but other language debates may yield a multitude of competing ideologies.

It was shown that language policy is inevitably grounded in linguistic culture. Language policy is defined broadly to mean any efforts that regulate language use, both official and unofficial. Unofficial language policy operates through symbolic power. According to Bourdieu, the power of language is the delegated power of whoever is using it, as there is no intrinsic power in language (1991: 107). However, powerful individuals or institutions use language to wield power, allowing only competent speakers to access prestigious social arenas. To mask these power relations, the dominant language is portrayed as the only natural way to speak.

Metadiscourse, talk about talk, was defined as evaluative discourse on language, which consists of conscious judgments that can reveal unasserted, unconsciously held underlying beliefs. The importance of metadiscourse was found in its social function. Metadiscourse in all its varieties structures social interaction, either by giving people the capacity to correct one another and to establish common knowledge and meanings, or by constructing an image of language and its role for speakers in defining group identities. Language debates are always evaluative and linked to other issues. This is particularly evident in the creation of moral panics concerning language, as happens in media discourse. Media discourse provides the material for this study because the media are an intertextual nexus, citing and spreading discourses throughout the community that may have originated elsewhere, and showing how they are authoritatively framed. The media are powerful institutions and in Russia have undergone many changes since the breakdown of the

Soviet Union. How these changes have affected the language discourse in them can help to form an understanding of what drives these language discourses.

While metalinguistic research does not set out to criticise speakers' perceptions and opinions, the metadiscourse in the media is open to critical, analytical approaches: "Where scholars may deliberately avoid judging lay metalanguage, mediatized metadiscourse warrants evaluation and critique precisely because of its institutional power and public influence." (Thurlow 2006) Therefore a critical approach is needed to examine the media reactions to language change. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) provides such an approach, combining analysis of language with analysis of social factors, as shown in the introduction. Thus CDA can also contribute to tracing how language ideologies come into existence. Blommaert claims that the historical production of language ideologies is underresearched: Historical analysis of texts treats them simply as old; attitudes or ideologies are too often regarded as incidental ideas that individuals happen to hold; the genesis of ideational phenomena is ignored and dehistoricized (Blommaert 1999: 6). Analysis taking into account the linguistic culture can address this shortcoming.

It is important to note that while CDA focuses on analysing how power is spread *via* language, it can also inform analyses on language ideologies. The study of language ideology and of values ascribed to particular ways of speaking goes further than to examine how power is spread through language: "scholars of Language Ideology believe that research should not just try to unpack the ways in which dominance is enacted or contested *through* language, but should also carefully attend to the processes by which social divisions and inequalities are (re)produced and challenged *on the basis of* perceived or presumed linguistic practices." (Milani & Johnson 2010: 363, emphasis in the original) Chapter 3 shows how a discourse analytical approach to argumentation analysis and metaphor analysis can analyse such processes.

Chapter 3: Methods for analysing metadiscourse on foreignisms

1. Linguistic ideologies in discourse

There are a multitude of methods to examine linguistic ideologies, as the literature surveyed in chapter 2 showed. This chapter deals with methods to examine language ideology and linguistic culture in metadiscourse. Chapters 1 and 2 showed that the emergence and working of linguistic ideology is hinged on social factors. Therefore, a method is needed that integrates the linguistic analysis of the discourse with an examination of the social processes bound up with it. Chapters 1 and 2 also examined attitudes towards borrowing and the ideological mechanisms governing them. Chapter 1 concluded that the borrowing volume as well as attitudes vary throughout history. At times of national consolidation, negative attitudes prevailed, whilst in periods of cultural openness purist attitudes were sidelined. This variation in linguistic ideology is clearly connected to social reasons. Chapter 2 demonstrated that attitudes to language were governed by language ideologies and how the language ideologies work. Also chapter 2 explained that ideologies of language never stem from any element within the language itself, but are to be found in external, shifting hierarchies of power. To be acceptable, language ideologies must hide these relations and tap into accepted common sense, utilising material from the linguistic culture (the background of 'factual knowledge' about language, see chapter 2, 5.1.). Linguistic ideologies, as chapter 2 showed, are discursively constructed in debates about language. The method for analysing language debates must take into account that metadiscourse is particularly complex and multi-layered. In metadiscourse, “we can find mutual influence of different genres ... evaluations, images (metaphors) for the creation of a portrait of the language (a description of its character). Here, interdisciplinary and interdiscursive areas and their epistemological arsenals (repertoires) appear: terms, metaphor, means of argumentation etc.” (Khairov 2003: 3)

1.1. Analysing language debates

Firstly, print media texts are used for the analysis of metadiscourse because they constitute a nexus of intertextuality, citing and repeating a multitude of discourses, particularly dominant ones. Secondly, print media are selected because they make common meanings that the audience can accept (see chapter 2, 7.). The analysis of the construction of common (sense) meanings is being carried out along the same principles as analysis falling into the remit of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) as explained in the introduction. The introduction stated the common principle of all CDA research followed in this work: The combination of text analysis and examination of the social context, critiquing power hierarchies that discourses help to perpetuate. The five broad premises of CDA (Philips and Jørgensen 2002: 60) inform this work:

- Social and cultural processes are partly linguistic-discursive in character.
- Discourse is both constitutive and constituted.
- Language should be analysed in context.
- Discourse has an ideological function.
- Critical analysis aims to uncover power relations.

Milani and Johnson (2008) demonstrate the potential of CDA for research on language ideologies. They state that although CDA and language ideology research have developed independent scholarly traditions over the last two decades, they exhibit some important similarities: Both are based on studying the relationship between language and issues of power and inequality. In particular, Milani and Johnson consider the rigorously text analytical approach of CDA fruitful for research of language ideologies and hold that a combination of historiographical approaches with CDA analysis can lead to a nuanced analysis of metadiscourse.

This chapter also uses the notion of folk linguistics, presented by Preston, to analyse language debate. The chapter will first consider Preston's theory of folk linguistics and then give details on a method to analyse metadiscourses, taking into account the role of metadiscourse in the distribution of folk linguistic thought on anglicisms. The

analysis will consist of two main components: The analysis of metaphor, and of argumentative strategies. This chapter describes how the two methods will address the folk linguistic content of metadiscourse, what might be behind it, how it operates, and how ideologies are spread in it. A separate section examines different approaches to metaphor analysis. To this end, I present elements from Lakoff and Johnson's Conceptual Metaphor Theory, Fauconnier and Turner's notion of blended metaphors and combine them with discourse metaphor and metaphor scenarios (Musolff 2006). Metaphor constructions are used to make up explanatory scenarios and reveal how abstract concepts such as language are made understandable and commonsensical. At the same time, metaphor scenarios can be used to block out particular aspects of the processes they describe. Finally, I reflect on how argumentative strategies set up distinctions between insiders and outsiders, and examine how Wodak's framework of argumentative strategies analysis helps to examine these issues. After this theoretical part, a summary of Russian print media and data collection methods clarifies my choice of data and describes the analytical process.

2. Folklinguistics and group knowledge

2.1. Group knowledge

In this work, ideologies are considered as systems of belief that are reproduced repetitively and universally, rather than necessarily imposed by force. Chapter 1 showed that power is exercised in discourse but masked as common sense. In the language debate, the dominance of one language variety or way of speaking is normally portrayed as commonsensical, natural and sensible, and vital for mutual understanding. The construction of commonsensical arguments can mask that language issues are concerned with more than language, but touch on deep fears of social cohesion, sense of belonging and group construction (Cameron 1995: xii). Therefore, an analysis of the working of language ideology must concentrate on its commonsensical nature. Common sense relies on group knowledge and the way a particular group structures knowledge – folk knowledge, and in this case, folk linguistics. Common sense can only be used in argumentation if there is a

presupposed body of consensual beliefs counting as factual knowledge in a linguistic community. The commonsense argumentation refers to this knowledge. Knowledge is constantly discursively reconstructed and can also be challenged: What counts as hard and fast knowledge and facts in one group may be regarded as falsification by another (van Dijk 2003: 85). For analyses of ideology, the premise that knowledge is a form of belief rather than an absolute isolated truth is key to understanding strategies of argumentation – argumentation only occurs because knowledge is not absolute, but can be disputed. Group knowledge about language makes up the linguistic culture (Schiffman 1996, see chapter 1, 5.1.). The linguistic culture is the sum of all preconceptions about language that are accepted as knowledge about language in the community, especially ideas about the character of the particular language in contrast to other, its role for the community, and its history. This backdrop of all assumptions about language, including folk notions or myths of the role and nature of language, its history, its origin etc. is relatively constant, but different elements from it can be instrumentalised by separate linguistic ideologies. The proliferation of debates and comments on language in the print media relies on the Russian linguistic culture. The next section explains how the group knowledge and common sense in discourse on language constitute folk linguistic discourse, and how folk linguistic discourse is structured.

2.2. Folklinguistics and language attitudes

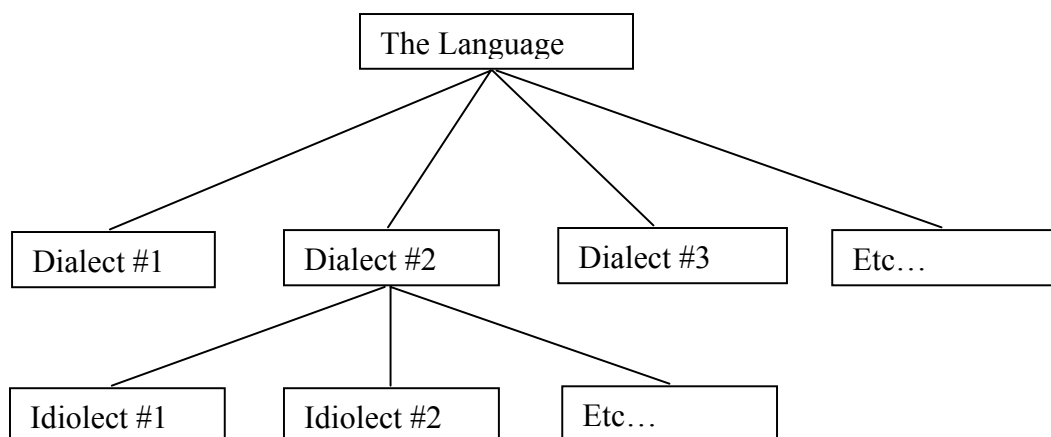
Preston's idea of folklinguistics (1994, 2002), aims to account for the mechanism of lay people's beliefs about linguistic processes and what is behind them: “Folk belief reflects dynamic processes which allow non-specialists to provide an account of their worlds.” (Preston 1994: 285) Preston refers to regional dialects, but the schema is applicable to any analysis of comments on language variety. Debates on foreignisms in the Russian print media exhibit folklinguistic beliefs which influence attitudes towards the speakers who use foreignisms. It is important to bear in mind that folk linguistic beliefs are not rooted within language, a language variety or a particular linguistic feature, but that attitudes about such a feature are in fact attitudes towards the people who use it or towards the connotations of the language feature. Attitude is

defined by Garrett et al as “an evaluative orientation to a social object of some sort, by that, being a ‘disposition’, an attitude is at least potentially an evaluative stance that is sufficiently stable to allow it to be identified.” (Garrett et al 2003: 3)

Linguistic attitudes are based on beliefs about a speaker or group of speakers triggered by certain linguistic forms, varieties and styles. They are tripartite, containing cognitive, affective and behavioural aspects. The cognitive component includes beliefs and thoughts about the attitude object; the affective component is the emotional reaction accompanying those beliefs. There is no scholarly agreement on the relation between beliefs, feelings and behaviour, and the different components can contradict each other (ibid 9; Gallois et al 596): For example, speakers do not necessarily base their own speaking behaviour on their belief of what constitutes ‘good’ language. Garrett defines the main function of language attitudes as imposing order: “Whether they are favourable or prejudiced, attitudes to language varieties and their users at least provide a coherent map of the social world.” (Garrett et al 2003: 3).

The discourse on language, propagating particular attitudes, is a way for of categorising the social world: It classifies speakers into those who follow the rules and those who do not. Preston states that “a language attitude is, after all, not really an attitude to a language feature; it is an awakening of a set of beliefs about individuals or sorts of individuals through the filter of a linguistic performance” (2000: 9). Preston categorises metalanguage into three types, metalanguage 1, 2 and 3. Metalanguage 1 is overt comments on language, conscious attitudes. Preston cites informants’ comments on African-American Vernacular English (AAVE) or particular American stress patterns (e.g. Preston 2004: 75). Metalanguage 2 encompasses metalinguistic utterances referring to something said earlier (Preston's example is 'Bill said he was hungry', 2004: 86). Metalanguage 3 is connected to metalanguage 1 – it is the unasserted shared beliefs that are behind metalanguage 1 (2004: 87). According to Preston, the presuppositions behind this metalanguage are unasserted beliefs shared by members of a speech community. These folklinguistic beliefs have gained currency despite sometimes differing widely from scholarly beliefs about language (Preston 2000: 308). According to Preston, the accepted academic view of different language varieties is as follows:

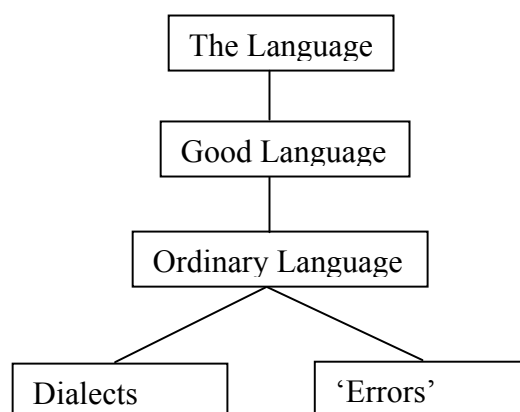
Figure 1: Language according to the expert view



The academic view of language considers all different ways of speaking as equally valid. A language has several dialects, and none of these is categorised as better or worse. Standard language, in the academic view, is just another dialect with the same validity and functionality as the less prestigious varieties. Each speaker of a dialect has an idiolect, and idiolects are also equally valid: Inherently bad language or sloppy speaking does not exist. The academic viewpoint might concede that certain modes of speaking are acceptable in some contexts but not others, but as far as communication is concerned, all languages are equally well equipped to express anything the speaker wishes to.³ In contrast, the folk attitude to varieties can be expressed as follows:

³ It must be noted here that the relationship between Russian linguistic academia and lay discussions is complex. Many Russian academic linguists do not share the view that all varieties have the same status; many view their task as preserving a particular idea of Russian and exhibit argumentative strategies also used in the non academic language debate (Ryazanova-Clarke 2006: 49). See discussion in chapter 5.

Figure 2: Language according to the folk view



(Preston 2004: 90)

In the above chart of the folklinguistic view, the language at the top provides an overarching concept, and good language is near the top. Further down in the hierarchy and somehow related to good language, but a defective variant of it, is ordinary language. Then there are dialects, which are not the same as ‘the language’ in the folk view, but aberrant varieties, and ‘errors’, which are clearly wrong and should therefore not be part of the language at all. In the folklinguistic view, some varieties of language or language features are viewed positively, whereas dialects and other elements are viewed negatively. Preston states that such judgments do not express a view that one variety is worse, and speakers should acquire the better one. Instead, the ‘defective’ variant is viewed as merely erroneous, not a system in its own right. There is only one logical good language, and according to the folk view, anyone not speaking it does not have a language system and must acquire one. Here, myths of the standard language apply again as well. The language varieties are still associated with different social groups by the folk, but good language is not considered good because it is used by good speakers (i.e. themselves), but “good language for the folk is a much greater abstraction: it is good because it is logical, clear, continuous” (Niedzielski & Preston 2000: 18). The remainder of the chapter lays out how metaphor analysis and argumentation strategies analysis can contribute to an examination of folklinguistic debate.

3. Analysing metaphor

Folklinguistic belief is dynamic and changeable, but some beliefs are passed on as pre-packaged knowledge (Preston 2004: 89; Niedzielski & Preston 2000: 20). These beliefs do not need to be asserted because they are taken as logical and self-explanatory. Metaphor analysis is a good tool to analyse such entrenched beliefs. This section provides an overview of metaphor analysis and theory and explains how metaphor is conceptualised and defined in this work, and how it will be analysed. The study of metaphor has had a mixed history. Metaphor was long considered a special element, not part of normal speech. Aristotle's writings on metaphor, within his considerations of rhetoric, held authority for a long time. There are disputes as to the key message of his writings on metaphor, but it is clear that although Aristotle considers metaphor a special part of language that can be used by everyone, it takes genius to conceive of good metaphors (Cameron & Low 2008: 74f). The idea of metaphor as a special part of speech was upheld widely, metaphors were considered an anomaly (Schoen 1993: 137) and studied in philosophy and literary criticism rather than within language sciences (Allan 2008: 4f). However, in the 20th century a turn in the common perception of metaphor took place. Today, metaphor is no longer considered a figure of speech used for embellishment or emphasis. Instead, metaphors are a central part of everyday language and instrumental in making sense of the world.

Charteris-Black has defined metaphor as "a word or phrase that causes semantic tension by reification, personification or depersonification" (2004: 21). Metaphors make meanings by linking unrelated concepts together. Specific values are conveyed because the successfully used metaphor makes the receiver overcome the gap between what is said and what is meant, creating often unconsciously achieved interpretations. Charteris-Black argues that metaphors are important to analyse because they point at stereotypes, commonalities and the *ce-qui-va-de-soi* (Barthes 1957: 9) of a language community – concepts that are intrinsic to the community and find their expression in metaphors. Semino (2008: 7), in a similar argument, connects conventional metaphors to ideology: "When particular uses of metaphor become the

dominant way of talking about a particular aspect of reality within a particular discourse, they may be extremely difficult to perceive and challenge, since they come to represent the ‘commonsense; or ‘natural’ view of things. In such cases, conventional conceptual metaphors can be seen as an important part of the shared sets of beliefs, or ‘ideology’”. The often entrenched metaphors go unnoticed as they are based on shared assumptions in order to be functional.

Metaphors are instruments of common sense creation in media texts. Wolf and Polzenhagen (2003: 249f) state that metaphors in print media discourse help to achieve a ‘normal’ style that builds a consensus. They allow the expression of familiar thoughts and make readers at ease. The style thus achieved is not actually unbiased, but it is portrayed as neutral, and metaphors add to the neutral style (ibid 250). In the texts examined in this work, metaphors are not anomalies to the audience, but a part of the normal, accepted way of speaking about a topic. Charteris-Black argues that metaphor is a figure of speech typically used to persuade (2004: 7) and therefore often employed in rhetorical and argumentative language. This persuasive function, however, may not be immediately apparent. White and Herrera (2003: 283) add that while “press ideals of balance and impartiality” will keep overt biases from appearing, since this could alienate the reader, metaphors can transmit a biased message covertly. Stenvoll (Stenvoll 2008: 38f) formulates the following research questions: “Which alternative problematisations are hidden or downplayed by a dominant conceptualization, and what effects would a different way of articulating the issue at hand have on the political process? How would different sets of metaphors, narratives, and vocabulary change the pool of acceptable arguments, and what kind of subject positions are given weight, and which political solutions to the problem seem intelligent, effective, and legitimate?” Such an approach to metaphor informs my analysis of metadiscourse. The next section explains how conceptual metaphor theory, blending and scenarios provide a framework for the analysis, and how the notion of discourse metaphor helps to address the culturally specific nature of metaphors.

3.1. Conceptual Metaphor Theory (CMT)

In groundbreaking work in the 1930s, Richards calls metaphor an “omnipresent principle of language” (1936: 92), claiming that thought is metaphoric in character and that linguistic metaphors are a consequence of metaphoric thought. Max Black continued work in this tradition in the 1960s, opposing the idea of metaphor as substitution and preparing the way for conceptual metaphor research (Allan 2008: 7f). The pioneers of conceptual metaphor analysis, Lakoff and Johnson, rely on the link between metaphoric thought and its expression in language. In 1980, they wrote: “We have found ... that metaphor is pervasive in everyday life, not just in language but in thought and action. Our ordinary conceptual system, in terms of which we both think and act, is fundamentally metaphorical in nature”. According to them, metaphors are embodied, linked to physical experience and are therefore easily understood. CMT highlights basic, entrenched connections in expressions that seem like the natural, commonsensical way of speaking about a topic, but cover unconscious conceptions of it. Metaphors link two conceptual domains and make the item from the target domain appear in terms of the source domain. An example of CMT in action is the explanation of the conceptual metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY in a phrase like ‘he has turned a corner’. Lakoff and Johnson see metaphors as embodied, graspable through bodily experience – everyone knows what a journey is like physically (for example, it can be long, one traverses territory, there may be several options as to what direction to take, one can make a false turn, at the end there is a goal, etc) and map these characteristics onto the target domain, in this case life.

Lakoff and Johnson rejected the distinction between active and dead metaphors, as they consider it unhelpful for analysing how metaphors function. Metaphors are described as dead or entrenched when they have become conventionalised, for example in stock phrases like “to catch up with” a schedule (the seemingly self-explanatory, obvious nature of this metaphor is mentioned by Fauconnier 1997: 32). Lakoff and Johnson instead shifted the emphasis to cognitive mechanisms underlying all types of metaphor. They consider dead or conventional metaphors most interesting, as they reveal unnoticeable, commonsense ways of describing abstract

processes. Analysis of such covert metaphorical descriptions can help to uncover folklinguistic beliefs in metadiscourse, as entrenched metaphors may explain logically to speakers why certain varieties are to be considered better or worse. Countering Lakoff's writing on metaphor, Charteris-Black sees metaphor as inherently incongruous (2004: 16). How can the conventional nature of some metaphors and the potential for incongruity be reconciled? Metaphor constructions are changed and remodelled constantly, especially in the case of entrenched metaphors. Richards stated that "however stone dead such metaphors seem, we can easily wake them up" (1936: 101), hinting at the possibility of (re-)creation of new metaphorical associations. Lakoff and Johnson are interested in how thought is 'embodied', how a great number of metaphors and metonymies are motivated by bodily, physical experience, and how those metaphors are common to unrelated languages (Allan 2008: 2f). But different cultures have different metaphors or elaborate the same basic metaphor in different ways (see e.g. Kövecses 2005). How can this be explained? The next section shows how Blending Theory helps to understand the fresh creation of metaphors.

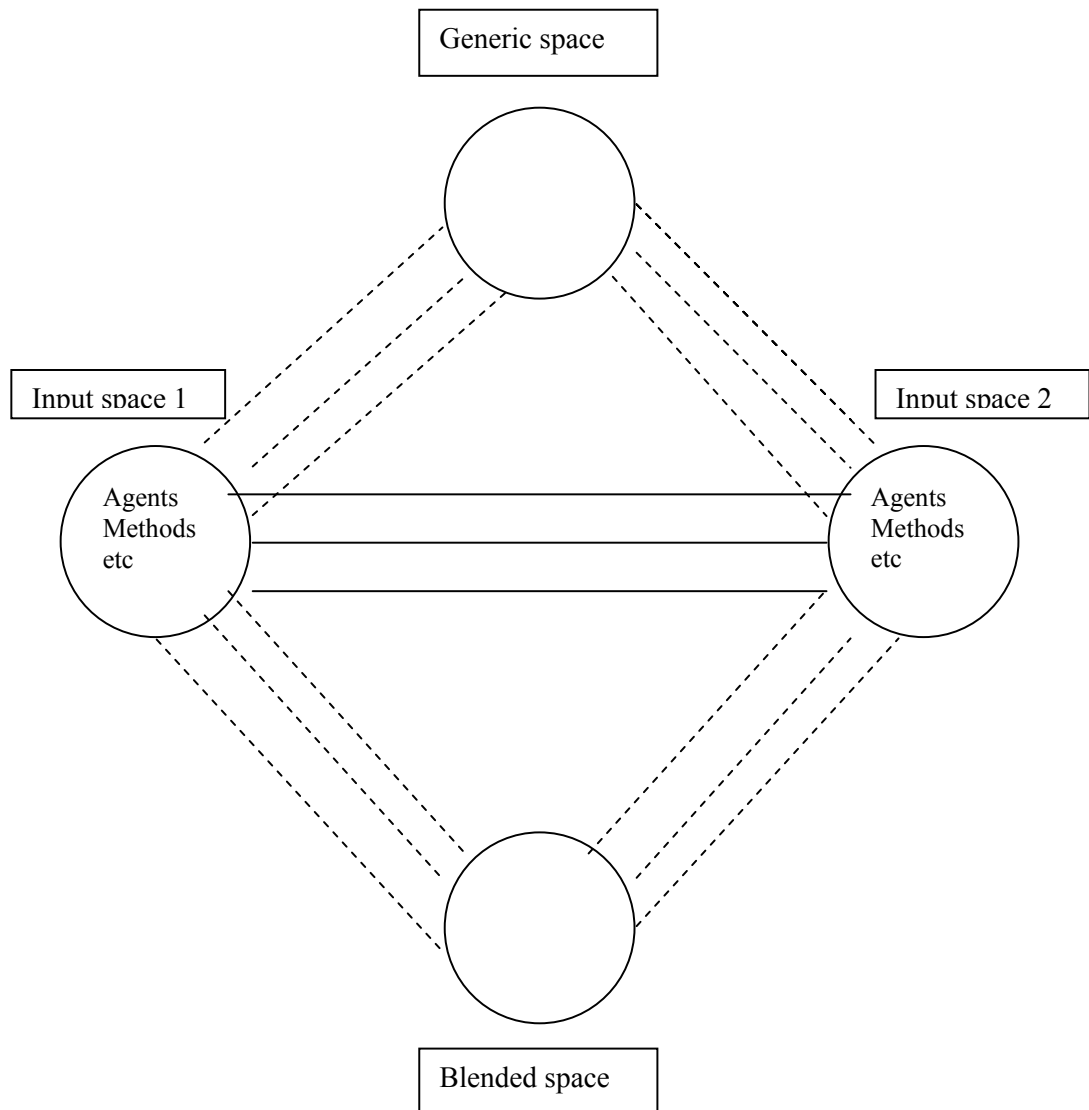
3.2. Blending Theory

Blending theory (BT) builds on the link between conceptual domains integral to CMT. Theorists of BT claim that CMT is unable to give a full account of the working of metaphors, as not all elements of a conceptual domain are relevant for a metaphor. BT is used to analyse what aspects of source and target domains enter a metaphor, and what aspects are backgrounded. Grady et al (1999: 101) show that BT is an elaboration of CMT: "CMT posits relationship between pairs of mental representations, while blending theory (BT) allows for more than two". BT, whose main proponents in metaphor analysis are Fauconnier and Turner (2002, 2008), relies on the notion of mental space. Grady et al (1999:102) define mental space as a partial and temporary representational structure which speakers construct when thinking or talking about a perceived, imagined, past, present, or future situation. This means that any metaphor is not limited to the expression on the page, but combines common ideas and frameworks that are a vital component of a metaphoric blend. In this

mental space, metaphors, even entrenched ones, can be elaborated and new blends created to suit a particular context.

While CMT analyses relations between two conceptual structures, the target and source domains, BT uses a model with at least 4 spaces (two input spaces, which correspond to CMT's source and target domains, a generic space, and the blended space) where material combines and interacts, and the metaphor is created. The structure of this blend is derived from the inputs, but has a new structure of its own. Blending involves three basic processes – Composition, Completion, and Elaboration. In Composition, content from each input (target and source, there may be more than one source input) is projected into the blended space. Only salient elements from both inputs enter the generic space. Completion means that the pattern of the blend is filled in; this pattern appears when the structure from input spaces matches information in long-term memory. The analyst of a blend fills in the common space on the basis of his/her knowledge (White & Herrera 2003: 293). The resulting blends can then be elaborated. In this process, not all aspects of an input area enter the blend – some common knowledge, crucially, is overridden (Grady et al: 115). The following diagram shows two input spaces contributing content into the metaphoric blend, but blends can have many input spaces. They contribute content to a generic space, which contains the main elements on an abstract level. The blended space contains elements from both domains, uniquely combined. The horizontal lines signify corresponding elements between the two domains.

Figure 3: Metaphor Blending



Fauconnier, like Lakoff and Johnson, stresses the seeming obviousness and simplicity of the metaphorical constructions and blended spaces: “rather remarkably, although the vocabulary often makes the mapping transparent, we are typically not conscious of the mapping during use, and in fact are liable to be surprised and amused when it is pointed out to us.” (1997: 30) Some metaphoric blends seem intuitively very obvious. But the obvious nature of such blends is what makes metaphors such powerful tools of explanation of abstract processes, and analysis can uncover what aspects are backgrounded and which ones foregrounded. Fauconnier

attributes this illusion of simplicity to the fact that every speaker is a competent performer in both creating and interpreting such blends (1997: 32). The notion of the competent performer applies especially to metadiscourses, as not only do the metaphors seem easy and commonsensical, speakers also have ideas about language itself that seem commonsensical and grounded in their experience.

As said above the blended metaphor relies on the notion of a mental space that is unique to that metaphor blend. The idea of a mental space, a scenario where particular elements are important, leads to the notion of metaphor scenarios and mini-narratives. In contrast to a newly created mental space, however, metaphor scenarios are already familiar and are invoked in particular metaphors to explain abstract concepts. As language is an abstract, complex concept, it can only be described using metaphors. Metaphors make linguistic processes understandable to the audience by appealing to the experience that speakers have of language use and the knowledge they have of other domains.

3.3. Metaphor scenarios and mini-narratives

So far, it was established that metaphors link conceptual domains, and can also include several inputs that are blended. The notion of metaphor scenario, devised by Musolff, adds to my understanding of metaphor. Musolff develops the idea that the same basic metaphor can be developed and applied in different ways. He cites Lakoff's example (1996: 154f) of the metaphor of NATION IS A FAMILY. In US political discourse, this metaphor has been extended in either posing the state as a 'strict father' or as a 'nurturing parent'. It became evident to Musolff that "the conceptual elements combined to whole mininarratives. ... It is this narrative structure that seems to make the configurations of domain elements prime sources for conceptualizations of large-scale political processes involving whole nations or international communities" (2006: 26). The scenarios facilitate explanations of abstract, complex processes by creating an easily understood narrative. According to Musolff, the cognitive approach of CMT needs to be complemented by a pragmatics-oriented perspective. He proposes to view the source domain of CMT "as a set of

(context-specific) presuppositions rather than logically implied 'entailments'." (Musolff 2003: 125) Musolff proposes the concept of a metaphor scenario, based on Fillmore, Lakoff, and Turner/Fauconnier. These scenarios are mini-narratives, and narrative elements allow complex processes to be configured succinctly (Musolff 2006: 26). Musolff follows Putnam (1975) to state that scenarios "include conventionally required assumptions, which may be revealed by experts to be empirically wrong but are still the default expectations that underlie the folk-theories held by nonexperts." (2006: 27) The same basic conceptual mappings found in CMT apply in the analysis of metaphor scenarios, but it is also examined how the mappings are elaborated into different scenarios. Musolff concludes that metaphors are not logically binding, but "hypothetical suggestions that can be endorsed or rejected" depending on what argument is made (Musolff 2003: 137). Analysing metaphors in this way allows the researcher to look at their role in argumentation and how public discourse metaphors are instrumentalised for a particular argument. Metaphorical mini-narratives are powerful discursive tools as they are used in boundary-drawing, boundary-maintenance, ordering and othering (Mottier 2008: 191f). As noted above, mini-narratives rely on preconceived notions that the metaphors can call up, and to pre-existing knowledge. Scenarios complement the notion of central mappings of concepts in metaphor constructions (Koteyko et al 2008: 245). In sum, metaphors are freshly created but also contribute to narratives that rely on pre-existing knowledge. The next part on discourse metaphor will develop how metaphors both tap into pre-existing knowledge and in turn also create a basis of knowledge about certain processes.

3.4. Discourse Metaphors

The notion of discourse metaphor can explain how a metaphor scenario gains traction in a culture and develops a history. Rather than focusing on the embodied nature of metaphor, discourse metaphor is defined as "a relatively stable metaphorical projection that functions as a key framing device within a particular discourse over a certain period of time." (Zinken et al 2008: 363). According to Zinken, discourse metaphor occupies a middle ground between innovative and

conventional metaphors (Zinken 2007: 462). The distinction between innovative and conventional metaphor is viewed as problematic in this work (see above, 3.1.), and ‘dead’, entrenched metaphors are considered as illuminating as new creations. But the model of discourse metaphor highlights the aspect of framing a discourse over a certain period of time – if a metaphor recurs often in discourse, it can be assumed that the metaphor commands key explanatory force. Metaphors can exist over a long time and develop their own history, as Frank (2008: 216) says: “Discourse metaphorical formations not only have a rich social and cultural history, they can also demonstrate an uncanny conceptual staying power, which reflects their status as highly entrenched, albeit constantly changing, entities, given that the sociocultural ground under them is always shifting”. This does not preclude the formation of novel blends, but the discourse aspect accounts for the metaphorical interpretation of topics as culturally salient phenomena, rather than as knowledge that is abstracted from bodily experience (Zinken 2003: 508). Zinken continues that such metaphors are “motivated by the speaker’s adaptation to a certain cultural structure or substructure, which provides specific imaginative resources.” (Zinken 2003: 509) This accounts for the existence of culture specific metaphors. Discourse metaphor analysis explains why metaphors are culture specific, even though humans share the same basic bodily experience. Whereas conceptual metaphors have universal roots, discourse metaphors evolve with the culture where they are used (Nerlich & Hellsten 2004). They may also be connected to and reinforce long traditions of political thought, ideologies or entrenched cultural values (see White & Herrera 2003: 277, Koteyko et al 2008: 244). Sustained use of certain discourse metaphors contributes to giving a discourse or discursive practice coherence. Thus metaphors contribute to build consistent narratives about language and folklinguistic explanations for what is ‘good’ and ‘bad’ language, thus making undesirable linguistic features appear naturally and logically like errors.

The analysis of how metaphor scenarios contribute to creating commonsense narratives about language, language change and anglicisms and thus perpetuate language ideology will be complemented by a wider analysis of argumentative

strategies. The next section elaborates on how argumentative strategies will be analysed, especially in terms of drawing boundaries between self and other.

4. *Argumentation strategies*

The analysis of the history of borrowing in chapter 1 has shown that foreignisms, obviously alien material in the language, easily attract attention. Sometimes they are used for that very reason, as the Western words carry prestige, at other times the words are rejected because of their foreignness. Categorisation into insiders and outsiders, into language features that belong and ones that do not, is a constant feature of metadiscourse on foreignisms. The categorisation occurs in both positive and negative reactions to borrowing. In times of positivity about borrowing, for example in the era of Peter the Great, the exotic newness of the words and concepts drew the greatest attention, and metadiscourse focused on their ability to enrich Russian life and language. At times of national consolidation, foreign elements came under negative scrutiny. They were considered potentially dangerous in their foreignness, threatening to undermine the truly Russian language and the nation. The categorisations into good and bad borrowings and language behaviour forms an evaluative discourse that is inevitably part of language debates and language ideology (chapter 1, 6.2.). Evaluative discourse is a vital element of Preston's diagram of folklinguistic thought which categorises language into good language, and defective or wrong language. The notion of the ideological square (van Dijk 1998) informs my analysis of insiders and outsiders and contributes to my understanding of argumentation strategy analysis as developed by Wodak (1999). The framework can be adapted to analyse how arguments in metadiscourse are built with a multitude of linguistic devices. Recalling Stenvoll's research questions on metaphor (above, 3.), in argumentation analysis we ask "how would different sets of metaphors, narratives, and vocabulary change the pool of acceptable arguments, and what kind of subject positions are given weight?" (Stenvoll 2008: 38f). The next

section shows what argumentation strategy analysis is based on and how it can be conducted.

4.1. Evaluation in argumentation

Folklinguistic metadiscourse includes a strong element of evaluation. Arguments are by default evaluative, as they are used to convince that a particular standpoint is right, and others wrong. As chapter 1 showed, evaluations of speech behaviour and categorisation in good and bad, right and wrong ways of speaking have had a prominent role in the debate on foreignisms throughout history. Foreign borrowings attract attention because of their foreignness, and provoke categorisation into inside and outside elements, and the delineation of boundaries between Us and Them. Such categorisation is based on ideological processes. One of the basic functions of ideology is to justify why we consider some things good, others not, and some (groups of) people like us and some totally unlike us. Chapter 2 explained that I consider ideology not a fixed instrument of oppression and deceit, but a flexible and extremely powerful force with the capacity to mask social realities. Ideology is considered inescapable – every individual subscribes to certain ideologies that structure their social world. Instead of pronouncing ideologies absolute, it is proposed that the ideologies steer how individuals and groups make sense of the world and how discourses are built. They allow for change and resistance against dominant discourses. As chapter 2 showed, evaluative metadiscourse works best when disguised as purely rational, commonsense statements of accepted facts.

CDA contributes to uncovering such ideological workings, and analyses the linguistic manifestations of ideologies as this is where they are made and distributed. Recalling Milani and Johnson's work on CDA and language ideologies, I consider that inequalities and power hierarchies are not just expressed in language, but also made on the basis of language, on the basis of how someone speaks or which varieties are used. There are many methods of analysis within the CDA tradition, much like there are many differing views on power and ideology. This analysis lays out how an authoritative view of language is constructed. In the argumentation

strategies analysis, I use van Dijk's idea of the ideological square and Wodak's framework of argumentative strategies and their linguistic manifestations. Argumentation strategy analysis serves my analysis of metadiscourse over a longer time period, and enables me to tease out argumentative patterns in my data.

4.2. Good vs. Bad, Us vs. Them: the ideological square

The concept of the ideological square gives a basic framework of in-group and out-group categorisation that can be used to analyse argumentation in any discourse constructing an opposition of different groups. The idea of the ideological square, developed by van Dijk in *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach* (1998), conceptualises the processes by which certain groups or traits are portrayed as negative and shows how discourses construct opposites – Us vs. Them. Analysing the construction of an ideological square in metadiscourse can show how language issues are made important and how they are used for group construction. The model of the ideological square has proven valuable for researching ideology in discourse (e.g. Oktar 2001 on religious and secular discourse in Turkish newspapers, Matu & Lubbe 2007 on Kenyan newspaper editorials; Olstead 2002 on Canadian media depictions of mentally ill people as criminal).

The model of the ideological square provides a framework of ideological in- and outgroup construction. Van Dijk's research led him to conclude that "positive self-representation and negative other-representation seems to be a fundamental property of ideologies." (1998: 69) Knowledge about oneself and others is organized in a certain way to make the in-group appear favourable. This strategy of ideological communication consists of four parts:

- Emphasising of positive information about Us
- Mitigation of negative information about Us
- Emphasizing of negative information about the Other
- Mitigation of positive information about the Other.

These four substrategies construct the ideological square, which serves the broader strategy of face-keeping and positive self-representation, but for groups rather than individuals (ibid 267). Argumentation supporting an ideological square consolidates the group by reinforcing membership criteria and creating a sense of belonging and knowledge about the everyday world. The in-group, according to a basic premise of social identity theory, will always consider itself superior to the out-group due to a fundamental desire for positive self-esteem (Oktar 2001: 319). The positive and negative images are also conveyed by the presence or absence of information. Discourse is often both abstract and concrete – usually Our good acts and Their bad acts will be described in detail, whereas Their good acts and Our bad acts are described vaguely and on an abstract level only, if at all. Certain facts are foregrounded as ‘objective knowledge’, according to purpose: “Their facts may not be Ours” (van Dijk 1998: 111). Some information about Us or Them will be presupposed as true in the discourse without having to be asserted directly (ibid 269), certain knowledge and beliefs are taken to be so commonsensical as to warrant no explanation. Myth and ambiguity are more attractive in this process than precisely defined concepts (ibid 197). Folklinguistic discourse with its clear evaluative content constantly engages in ideological square construction. The distinction between what is good and bad are not necessarily overt, but are achieved by a variety of argumentation strategies, as the next section shows.

4.3. Argumentation strategies

Van Dijk gives some examples of strategies that are employed to build the ideological square: Referential rhetorical strategies like euphemisms in the description of groups, or leaving agents implicit by verbal constructions (1998: 270); rhetorical devices such as metaphor, hyperbole, repetition and understatement (ibid 273); magnifying issues and potential problems to catastrophic dimensions (ibid 283). These strategies can also serve to distance ‘our’ bad acts from ‘us’, relegating them into the background of ancient history, or portraying them as inevitable natural catastrophes. In *Discourse and Manipulation*, van Dijk (2006: 373) gives a list of possible strategies of positive self and negative other-representation:

Positive self-presentation, Negative other-presentation

- Macro speech acts implying Our ‘good’ acts and Their ‘bad’ acts, e.g. accusation, defence
- Semantic macrostructures: topic selection
 - (De-)emphasize negative/positive topics about Us/Them
 - Local speech acts implementing and sustaining the global ones, e.g. statements that prove accusations.

Local meanings: Our/Their positive/negative actions

- Give many/few details
- Be general/specific
- Be vague/precise
- Be explicit/implicit

Lexicon: Select positive words for Us, negative words for Them

- Local syntax
 - Active vs passive sentences, nominalizations: (de)emphasize Our/Their positive/negative agency, responsibility
- Rhetorical figures
 - Hyperboles vs euphemisms for positive/negative meanings
 - Metonymies and metaphors emphasizing Our/Their positive/negative properties
- Expressions: sounds and visuals
 - Emphasize (loud, etc.; large, bold, etc.) positive/negative meanings
 - Order (first, last; top, bottom, etc.) positive/negative meanings

The above categories are examples of what rhetorical structures could be analysed in a critical study of metadiscourse. The oppositions of general vs. specific, vague vs. precise are also thematised by the notion of linguistic intergroup bias (Maass et al 1996, see also chapter 5, 4.). According to the linguistic intergroup bias theory, the positive actions of the in-group and the negative actions of the out-group are portrayed in an abstract manner. On the other hand, the negative actions of the in-group and the positive actions of the out-group – the actions that are de-emphasised – are framed in concrete terms. Abstract discourse suggests that the object of discussion is accepted as universal fact, as the status quo – the in-group’s default position is good, the out-group’s position defaults to negative. Specific incidents of positive out-group action can be mentioned concretely, as they only serve as examples of isolated incidents in the face of the overwhelming majority of abstract

negative elements. The analysis will show if this is the case in Russian metadiscourse on foreignisms.

In Critical Discourse Analysis “rhetorical structures are studied as means to emphasize or de-emphasize meanings as a function of ideological opinions.” (van Dijk 1998: 208) As van Dijk’s list shows, the construction of such opinions can be detected in many elements: Negative traits or actions of the out-group can be emphasised by topic selection, by positioning negative actions in a prominent location such as the beginning of a text, by using negatively connoted terms etc. Similarly, positive attributes or actions of the out-group can be downplayed for example by passivisation of sentences or positioning information in a less noticeable place. Ruth Wodak gives details of how analysis of argumentative strategies is conducted and provides a useful framework for examining the ideological square in her approach to CDA.

Wodak’s oeuvre traces how discourses utilise certain discursive strategies to achieve their ideological aims. Her work, which ranges from studies of gender relations to anti-Semitism in Austria to research on discourses in EU institutions, originates from a discourse-historical approach. Wodak’s work traces diachronic changes that types of discourse undergo and focuses on authentic everyday communication, similar to a Foucauldian genealogy (Wodak 1999: 8). Her methods concentrate on the construction of arguments in the discourse, the invisible working of strategies that rely on common schemes and knowledge. Strategies do not necessarily mean that someone is operating with malicious intent, but rather the intention and strategies that people are following in discourse. Analysis of argumentation strategies supplies tools to find out how ‘We’ are constructed positively and the ‘Other’ is constructed in contrast, giving particular detailed linguistic categories of strategic discourse to look at. In their examination of Austrian national identity, for example, Wodak et al combine historical, socio-political and linguistic perspectives. They conduct an analysis of the discourse that leads to the identification of the macrostrategies behind discourses of national identity (ibid 186). The authors stress that their research method and analytical tools are adaptable to other research foci. This work uses some of Wodak’s categories to describe thematic areas, argumentation schemes and their

aims, and what discourses they support. From Wodak's approach, my work adopts the method of analysing argumentative strategies to identify how attitudes and representations of borrowing are constructed. Argumentation analysis can be used to examine discourses over a period of time, which helps to establish what discourses gain currency over time, much like the analysis of discourse metaphors over time shows what entrenched mini-narratives are used to interpret language change.

4.3.1. Content, Strategies, Means of Realisation

Wodak et al use three connected dimensions of analysis: content, strategies, and means and forms of realisation. On the content level, they analyse five thematic areas of Austrian national identity: linguistic construction of a *homo austriacus*, common political past (founding myths, times of success or defeat etc), a common culture (arts, language, everyday culture), common political present and future, national body (space, artefacts etc) (1999: 30f). Then, Wodak et al show which strategies and substrategies are endorsed by which argumentation schemes or topoi and by what means they are realised. In their analysis of strategies, Wodak et al follow Bourdieu's view of strategies. Bourdieu states that "I want to re-emphasize that the principle of philosophical (or literary) strategies is not cynical calculation ... The strategies I am talking about are actions objectively oriented towards goals that may not be the goals subjectively pursued." (Bourdieu 1993: 90) There is not necessarily covert, malicious power at work actively coercing people, or a masterminded plan behind these strategies. Wodak defines strategy as "a more or less accurate and more or less intentional plan of practices (including discursive practices) adopted to achieve a particular social, political, psychological or linguistic aim" (Wodak 2007: 347). The 'more or less intentional' point is crucial because there is an intention in a strategy but not necessarily a conscious or active one. Discursive strategies in particular she defines as "systematic ways of using language" that are located at different linguistic levels (ibid).

The strategies and argumentation schemes are not frameworks that are imposed on the data, but summarise the results of the analysis. Topoi are "conclusion rules that connect the argument with the conclusion" (Reisigl & Wodak 2001) or "the

common-sense reasoning typical for specific issues” (van Dijk 2000). Topoi are an important tool in commonsense creation, as they are so ingrained and natural that they automatically win the argument without further explanation.

In the analysis of Austrian national identity construction in their data, Wodak et al have singled out strategies of construction (perpetuation/justification), transformation and dismantling. Serving all of those are strategies of assimilation and dissimilation (1999: 33f). The authors then examine the linguistic means that implement these strategies, focusing on lexical units and syntactic devices. In particular, the authors analyse how personal reference, spatial reference, and temporal reference help to construct sameness, difference, uniqueness, origin etc. (1999: 35). Examining what actors are foregrounded and given a voice, and also what actors are backgrounded for example by passivisation or negative statements and highlighting of negative characteristics, the analysis shows how the discourse constructs a particular common sense about ‘right’ and ‘wrong’ behaviour. In an article on migration, Wodak poses five questions (2007: 662) that point at the “Us vs. Them” difference in the context of asylum seekers that can help with this analysis:

- How are persons named and referred to linguistically?
- What traits, characteristics, qualities, and features are attributed to them?
- By means of what arguments and argumentation schemes do specific persons or social groups try to justify and legitimize the inclusion/exclusion of others?
- From what perspective or point of view are these labels, attributions, and arguments expressed?
- Are the respective utterances articulated overtly, are they even intensified or are they mitigated?

Wodak has organized the table of results in the article according to these questions, and stated which devices were used to what effect, and what strategy they supported. They are manifested through linguistic indicators, e.g. lexical items, adjectives, attributes, metaphors, or verbs. For another study (Baker et al 2008) in which Wodak participated, the authors show that the framework can be used in interdisciplinary

studies. Wodak's original framework, as summarised in the following table, is used by Baker et al to show which strategies can be achieved by which devices:

Table 3: Argumentation Strategies

Strategies	Objective	Devices
Referential/nomination	Construction of in-groups and out-groups	Membership categorisation Metaphors, metonymies Synecdoches
Predication	Labelling social actors (positively or negatively)	Stereotypical, evaluative attribution of positive or negative traits Implicit and explicit predicates
Argumentation	Justification of + or – attributions	Topoi, fallacies
Perspectivation, framing Discourse representation	Expressing involvement positioning speaker's POV	Reporting, description, narration or quotation of events and utterances
Intensification mitigation	Modifying the epistemic status of a proposition	Intensifying or mitigating illocutionary force or (discriminatory) utterances

Baker et al 2008: 282

This table shows which strategies are used to portray asylum seekers, but the same basic strategies – nomination, predication, argumentation, perspectivation, intensification/mitigation – operate in the discourse on anglicisms in Russian. However, the construction of in- and out-groups is not just an objective of referential strategies, but can be an overarching objective of all the strategies. Wodak's framework is used to explore how the ideological square is constructed because it comprehensively addresses questions about how a subject is constructed. This framework will be used to give a detailed picture of the attitudes towards foreign words conveyed in the metadiscourse.

5. *Analysing Russian print media*

Print media, I argued in chapter 2, constitute an important source of dominant discourses. Newspapers traditionally function as a gatekeeping institution, allowing those with cultural capital to present their opinions. As well, repeating and quoting material from elsewhere also makes the print media an intertextual nexus. Analysis of print media texts can therefore reveal patterns of argumentation strategies with regard to particular topics, and show how they change over time. Textual, language-centred analysis plays a central role in such analysis. The language of mass media is a site of power and struggle, but also a site where language often appears to be transparent and neutral, even when it is not (Wodak 2006: 12). At the same time, it cannot be denied that the circulation of newspapers especially in contemporary Russia is waning. The influence of newspapers and print media has been declining since the rise of the popularity of television. Zassoursky (2004: 6), however, argues that even nowadays, when television is firmly established as the first source of information in Russia, newspaper analysis is essential: “The newspaper page is ideally suited to schematic exposition and publicistic simplifications, which have always aided the propagation of ideas among the mass public. At the same time, the mosaic of articles creates a sense of the representation of reality due to the range of subjects covered”. Even in the age of television, newspapers keep their role as “incubators of political discourse and factories of argumentation” (Zassoursky 2004: 56). Arguments played out in the print media can also be the source for coverage in other media. This section will present an overview of developments in the Russian print media, divided into Soviet media history, an overview of the perestroika and aftermath until the market opening of 1992, the Yeltsin period, and Putin period. Detailed discussions of print and other media in Russia in general be found in Zassoursky (2004), Vartanova et al (2001), Koltsova (2006), Oates (2006), and Mickiewicz (1997).

5.1. The Soviet media system

The print media played a vital role in the first years after the revolution. Newspapers were part of the agitational effort from the very start of the Soviet system. Vladimir Ilich Lenin himself considered newspapers a “collective propagandist, agitator and organizer” (1970: 11), and this view of the press was to remain fundamentally in place throughout Soviet times (Koltsova 2006:24). From the Bolshevik mobilisation to the 1960s, newspapers were most important medium for providing information to the public in Russia (Mickiewicz 2000: 92; Gorham 2003: 17). Up to the advent of television, newspapers were the main source of information, they were affordable, distributed efficiently and widely and generously funded. Censorship played a central role from the outset of Soviet news production, as it had done in imperial times before. The censorship body Glavlit, established in 1922, was endowed with immense power from the start, controlling all press output (Koltsova 2006: 24). As an instrument of propaganda, print media were important sources of information, but this information was tightly controlled.

After the Second World War, Stalin transformed the media system into a uniform set of structures and introduced a standard of expression that would be widely intelligible. In the late 1960s the Soviet media took the form it kept until the collapse (Koltsova 2006: 23). Until 1990, the newspaper landscape formed a pyramid structure: the central press (3% of all publications, published in Moscow, distributed nationwide) at the top were the most influential and widely read. Newspapers were the main medium of the nation until the rise of television. The transition to television holding the greatest influence and political clout was gradual, in step with the acquisition of television sets in more and more households. Television is now considered the only truly national medium reaching every corner of the country (Benn 1996: 474; Vartanova & Smirnov 2010: 21). The growing role of television in later Soviet times meant that although newspapers were as before printed and distributed widely, they were no longer the primary source of information and read less widely than before. However, the importance of television meant that even in the times of censorship and strong centralised control, newspapers had more freedom than television officials in choosing content (Mickiewicz 2000: 91).

The control of the Soviet government over the media was absolute. Centralization was achieved by subordinating media to dual authority of government ministry or committee and the ideological department of the central committee of the communist party. The state had absolute control over the financing and distribution of newspapers, as well as over staff. Media personnel were chosen from within party ranks, as a stepping stone in a party career, without the need for journalistic background (Koltsova 2006: 26). As well, state control was easily achieved because the number of outlets was small. Many small enterprises were nationalised and merged to ease the logistics of planning (Gehlbach 2010: 78f). The production of newspapers was controlled tightly, but readership perception of them was ignored. It did not matter whether they liked what they read or not – the purpose of the media was the socialization of the audience to the values of the regime (Koltsova: 27; 90).

5.2. Perestroika and early post-Soviet time

Mikhail Gorbachev's reorganization campaign, perestroika, meant fundamental changes for the Russian media. McNair's (1994: 116) categorisation of press development in Russia in late- and post-Soviet times gives three distinct phases: perestroika, the golden era, and restructuring.

The first period during perestroika was characterised by the policy of glasnost, new journalistic freedom and the dissolution of decades of censorship and control. Ideological bans were lifted, and previously taboo subjects such as Stalinist repression were now permissible subject matter. From the late 1980s, the concept of the media as a fourth estate holding the government to account became popular among journalists (Zassoursky 2004: 11). Newspapers at the time of perestroika were read avidly, as completely new and unfamiliar material and genres were made available to an audience hungry for new information.

The second period from 1990 to 1992 is dubbed the golden age of the Russian press, when unprecedented press freedom was combined with a sound distribution system

and the financial means to maintain a plethora of media outlets. After the Soviet Union had collapsed, it became possible to found independent media outlets, according to new mass media laws (Russian Law on Mass Media, 1991). Thus, many new media outlets were founded. Among the most important of these are the radio station Ekho Moskvy and the newspapers Nezavisimaia Gazeta, Kommersant and Stolitsa, all radically new publications (Zassoursky 2004: 35). In those golden years of the press, there was freedom from censorship, the public were reading newspapers widely, and financial circumstances were comfortable.

After the price liberation and market crash, a third period began – the formation of a new media system. After the liberation of prices in 1992, with rapid inflation, the print media immediately became unprofitable and circulation decreased rapidly. The market contracted sharply, but the number of outlets did not drop (Koltsova 2006: 36, Zassoursky 2004: 43). Beumers et al (2009: 21) state that in ten years between 1990 and 2000, the number of publications rose from 43 to over 300, but print runs decreased from 2.5 million to 100000. Newspapers in immediate post Soviet times displayed pluralism of viewpoints and raised popular debate, but they were read less and less when inflation rates made them unaffordable (Zassoursky 2009: 36; Mickiewicz 2000: 102). In the early 1990s, subscription numbers already decreased significantly. Izvestiia retained only 25% of its subscribers in 1993 compared to before the market liberation, 39% for Nezavisimaia Gazeta, 35% for Argumenty i Fakty. (Zassoursky 2004: 17) Among all media outlets, newspapers suffered most from the transition to market economy (Pietiläinen et al 2010: 42).

The financial hardship notwithstanding, the early 1990s undeniably brought media freedom. The first Chechnya crisis was a critical time for media and constituted a breakthrough for journalism. Journalists refused to accept official versions of events and freely reported from the source, with dramatic results for Yeltsin's elections strategy and leading to the conclusion of the war (Benn 1996: 473; Mickiewicz 2000: 87).

The question of ownership is crucial to the understanding of the Russian media landscape. When it became possible to open privately owned media outlets,

individuals with the necessary financial means were able to gain political influence by controlling media. This possibility was exploited quickly. Elections became especially profitable for the media: Numerous new media were formed in pre-election periods, as well as fake newspapers used solely for promoting particular candidates (Koltsova 2006: 40, 94). Power relations in the Russian media are not easily traceable, as 'voluntary donations' and unconventional or opaque payment methods make it difficult to gauge who gives or receives money, and who wields influence where (Koltsova 2006: 49). Data about ownership, mergers, budgets etc is equally difficult to obtain (Koltsova 2006: 74); especially official statistics of ownership in the 1990s are hard to come by. Not least in order to present a favourable picture to advertisers, the circulation numbers of papers are often inaccurate (Vartanova & Smirnov 2010: 21). But however great the influence of new private owners of media outlets, it must not be disregarded that in the mid 1990s the government was still controlling the infrastructure, such as paper, printing and the distribution network (Benn 1996: 476), which gave it a significant role.

5.3. Vladimir Putin and the power vertical and beyond

From the late 1990s onwards, a process of media nationalisation and consolidation began. The late 1990s showed the first signs of nationalisation of the media, with some successful outlets such as NTV resisting, but in vain (Koltsova 2006: 77). Audiences had tired of intense political debates in the media. They had grown mistrustful of journalism, withdrew support for independent quality journalism and turned towards infotainment, sports and crime programmes instead (ibid 129). With the presidency of Vladimir Putin, an era of intense state consolidation in the media commenced. The tightening of control over the media was part of Putin's policy of the power vertical, and accompanied by an image of "Great Russia' once again coming together to meet challenges and combat enemies at home and abroad." (Zassoursky 2004: 33). Control over the media is exercised for example by legislation: "According to the Media Law of 1990, licences for media can only be withdrawn by the licensing body, but from 2002 this competency was extended and now any governmental organ possesses this right." (von Seth 2011: 16) Media outlets

were nationalised or controlled by Kremlin-friendly oligarchs (Gehlbach 2010: 81). However, the consolidation of media outlets was selective – Putin did not aim to control all sources of information, but concentrated on national television, especially news programmes, and tolerated diversity of coverage in the remaining media output (Gehlbach 2010: 78). Television news programmes were deemed the most important source of news for the population and therefore it was vital to control their message.

Groups such as Reporters sans Frontières, the Committee to Protect Journalists and the International Press Institute have vilified the Putin regime for actions against press freedom (Becker 2004: 140). The Russian press can be seen as a neo-authoritarian media system, as despite the multitude and diversity of outlets there are limits to pluralism, especially on concerns of importance to the regime. There is a great number of media outlets, and a lot of their output is not directly controlled, but they have no independence (de Smaele 2006: 50). However, as in Soviet times, the print media are treated more leniently than television in the neo-authoritarian system. They are not considered of prime importance like television: “while there are tight reins placed on television, there may exist, in spite of periodic harassment, violence and closures, a vibrant print media that is independently owned (by individuals, parties, or foreign corporations), relatively autonomous.” (Becker 2004: 150) The strong competition between media outlets turned out to be beneficial to the authorities, as they were able to control media better. Strong competition in an economically weak market is seen as a major shortcoming of modern media system in Russia (Vartanova & Smirnov 2010: 26).

The newspaper readership has sharply declined, television dominates. In 2003, 14 percent of Russians never read newspapers. By 2008, this number had risen to 37 percent (Levada 2010). Print media has turned to simple information rather than challenging and investigative journalism, with some exceptions like *Novaia Gazeta* (Beumers et al 2009: 21). The rise of online media is making a significant change to the way media are consumed as well. As in most places, online media have taken preference over print media for those able to access to them. However, the number of people online in Russia outside the big metropolitan centres is small and by far not

everyone accesses media online. Also, web pages of traditional media outlets are now catching up behind new informational websites at fast pace (Zassoursky 2004: 181; Pietiläinen et al 2010: 52). Thus, traditional media retain their role as a key producer of institutionally sanctioned discourse – whether they follow official policy and support orthodox discourse, or challenge established discourse.

5.4. Data collection and analysis

The data for this work was collected from the INTEGRUM worldwide service, which holds 5000 databases covering all national and regional newspapers and magazines, statistics, official publications, archives of the leading national and international information agencies, and more (Integrum website 2010). Integrum has a variety of search tools for researchers that allow quantitative comparisons but also provide sophisticated search functions to aid the collection of articles for qualitative analysis. I conducted a limited number of quantitative searches, not aiming for representative results, but to check trends noted in the qualitative analysis of texts. To search for texts I built a search query to catch all articles about borrowings from English. This base query in reads as follows:

англицизм* или (американизм* и язык*) или иноязыч* /и (заимствован* или слов*)

The above query searches for articles containing англицизм, or американизм in conjunction with язык, or иноязычные заимствования or слова, in all their grammatical incarnations. The asterisks indicate that the search term is truncated, to allow for searches of words with any ending – so declination, conjugation and derivatives are covered. This query was built after some experimentation to establish what combination of terms yielded results, and to sift out irrelevant results, for example articles that deal with американизм in a non-linguistic context.

I then built a collection of sources to search. The outlets in my collection were selected for variety across political inclination, variety in target audience and also because there was continuous material available in the archives, not always the case

in times of upheaval like in the early 1990s. Where Integrum did not provide material back to the 1990s, it was possible to find this in the archives of the publications themselves. More details about these publications can be found in chapter 5 (4.). The collection consists of ten newspapers:

Argumenty i Fakty
 Kommersant
 Literaturnaia Gazeta
 Moskovskie Novosti
 Nezavisimaia Gazeta
 Novaia Gazeta
 Ogonek
 Pravda
 Izvestiia
 Rossiiskaia Gazeta

The search query was run on this body of data. The results were manually sorted to cast out irrelevant articles, where there was no debate or any discussion, and duplicate articles. The remaining 133 articles form the corpus I analysed. 133 articles over nearly two decades does not seem much, but these articles constitute a very specific subset of the language debate and can be taken as indicative of tendencies within the language culture as a whole, summing up activity in other arenas and media outlets.

I ran the base query through all media sources available on INTEGRUM as well to gauge numbers in general. The number of articles found containing anything about anglicisms, Americanisms or foreign borrowings are as follows:

Central Press	750
Central agencies	113
Regional press	1110
Regional agencies	64

Bearing in mind the multitude of outlets on INTEGRUM, my corpus is relatively of a size that corresponds to the numbers in all sources.

To sum up, when analysing the Russian media, potential power hierarchies must always be taken into account, but equally are not analysed in detail in this study. The salient point to bear in mind is that media are distributing powerful discourses,

whether these are steered by governmental control or more opaque mechanisms. Becker (2004: 146) states that in Russia state power and private capital have had similarly negative influences on the public sphere and the media. Thus, analysing them can give important insights over how language discourses are instrumentalised and how they are constructed differently at different times. The following analytical chapters examine how metaphors and general argumentation strategies structure metadiscourse on foreignisms in Russian.

6. Conclusion

In this chapter, the conclusions from chapter 1 about language ideology and common sense were connected to methodological issues. In further chapters, the commonsense construction in folklinguistic metadiscourse will be analysed by examining metaphors and argumentation strategies. Previous research has developed methods to analyse how discourse constructs commonsense, and how in-groups and out-groups are created discursively. CDA supplies useful methods for my purposes, due to the combination of linguistic analysis with social background examination. Furthermore, following an approach examining argumentation strategies allows social factors and political surroundings to be taken into account as well as historical narratives contributing to argumentation on a particular issue. The analysis of the reception of English loanwords in Russian will single out areas of content and analyse which strategies construct a certain image of Russian and its speakers, and foreign words. In this work, I will look at several aspects of the ideological square in discourses on foreignisms:

- How boundaries are drawn between foreign words and Russian words
- How speakers who use foreign words and those who do not are portrayed
- How an image of good speakers and bad speakers is constructed
- The role and influence ascribed to English foreignisms.

Images of anglicisms are constructed with the help of strategies that include mythmaking, the consultation of experts who deliver ‘hard facts’ and the construction of a commonsense language standard. Argumentation analysis serves as a method to analyse the interconnectedness of strategies and show how they function. These connections are not always visible: “in human matters, interconnections and chains of cause-and-effect may be distorted out of vision. Hence ‘critique’ is essentially making visible the interconnectedness of things” (Fairclough 1995: 747). This is also my understanding of critical in this work, analysing how linguistic ideologies are constructed and making obvious the connections that may not be apparent. Discourse on foreignisms is especially fruitful for analysing linguistic ideologies because they are so obviously different. Foreignisms are automatic markers of otherness and invite polarise insider-outsider classificational discourse (Duszak 2002: 213). This analysis will show how this polarization occurs and how it is connected to extralinguistic reasons.

Firstly, the role of metaphor in metadiscourse will be analysed to show how metaphors contribute to the image of language and foreign elements in it. Then chapter 5 will analyse how strategies such as construction, mitigation, justification, dismantling etc. construct insiders and outsiders. The linguistic means to achieve these strategies are various, including for example the use of metaphor and metonymy, ridicule and irony. The analysis of the in- and out-group construction will consist of three major parts: the construction of the character and history Russian language, the construction of foreign elements in the language and the construction of the role of speakers. The analysis will show what *topoi* are used, which strategies they support and how these strategies construct a linguistic past and history, painting a particular image of the Russian language, and how such strategies connect language and society discursively. Within this analysis, the creation of in-groups and out-groups provides a common thread running through all the discourse.

Chapter 4: Images of language

1. Introduction

Chapter 2 established that this work examines language ideology as a covert force operating by the representation and perpetuation of ideas as 'mere' rational common sense, rather than biased views supporting hierarchies of power. Then, chapter 3 presented the methods employed in this analysis. To understand how language ideologies are built and operate, one must consider their discursive nature. Language ideologies are only perceivable in how they are used to frame topics in discourse. This chapter looks in detail at the framing of anglicisms in Russian metadiscourse, specifically at the use of metaphor as a device to create interpretive scenarios for the readers of print media articles. Chapter 3 showed the role of metaphors in creating narratives, and how they contribute to common sense ways of structuring the world. This chapter then uses metaphor analysis as a starting point to the analysis of discourses on foreignisms. Metaphor analysis can reveal how images of the Russian language, of its speakers and anglicisms are constructed and to what effect. Metaphors are used to evaluate, and are a rich source of expression of language attitudes in debates about language. Metaphors tap into an accepted communal worldview and often signal approval or disapproval (Charteris-Black 2004: 12). Specific values are conveyed because a successful metaphor construction overcomes the gap between what is said and what is meant, creating often unconsciously achieved interpretations of entities: “metaphor bonds people in a joint action of meaning creation.” (ibid 12) Specific metaphors can shape the linguistic culture, pointing at historically entrenched ways of considering language, yet these meanings can also be created anew, and adapted to new situations. The notion of discourse metaphor (see below) helps to understand this process.

Chapter 3 explained that metaphor is embodied; according to Lakoff and Johnson (1980), metaphor works by framing abstract concepts in terms of bodily experience. But building on Lakoff and Johnson's notion of direct mapping between source and

target input (e.g., ILLNESS IS WAR), Fauconnier and Turner state that metaphors can be blended and complex, relying on mental spaces and the combination of several elements in one metaphor that is created online. The notion of discourse metaphor completes my view of metaphor. Discourse metaphors are not just operating by calling up embodied experience, but by having become the accepted way of framing a topic and being grounded in a history of usage. This accounts for the fact that different cultures have different metaphors or develop the same basic metaphor in a different way. Musolff (2006) contributes the idea of metaphor scenarios, metaphorical narratives that help to understand some abstract concept. Language is very abstract, but at the same time totally familiar to all speakers. Metaphors, an intrinsic part of any description of abstract processes, are understood instinctively: this covert nature means that metaphor analysis can potentially uncover hidden agendas.

As language is abstract, intangible, but at the same time an integral part of human existence, it is not surprising that descriptions and interpretations of the nature and significance of language using tangible concepts are commonplace. Aitchison's (2003: 42) list of common language metaphors in Western thought over the last few centuries was cited in chapter 2 on language ideology (section 1): language has been conceptualised as a conduit, a tree or system of plants, a wave, or buildings. A number of these metaphors still abound in discourse today. Language has been conceptualised metaphorically in very different ways, but the manifold descriptions also have similarities. For example, both the tree image and the notion of a plants system rely on a variety of branches coming from a common source, whereas the conduit and wave concepts are dynamic in character. Different metaphorical scenarios for language emphasise – as well as background – different perceived characteristics of language. Metaphoric descriptions of language can also render it as an object. This reification has two consequences: Firstly, language as an object makes it “a fixed set of decontextualised abstractions from speech events” (Love 2009: 5), a separate entity removed from speakers. Equally, both lay and professional representations of language as an object perpetuate an “artefactual ideology of language” (Blommaert 2008: 291-2), according to which language can be

manipulated, like other objects. The analysis will show whether such a reified image of language also applies in metadiscourse on foreignisms.

In this chapter, I analyse metaphors used in print media discourse on anglicisms in the Russian language. The metaphorical constructs categorise the speakers, the anglicisms and other discrete elements of the language by building mini-narratives about language. Such scenarios serve to build a commonsense idea about language, as the analysis shows.

2. Metaphor scenarios of anglicisms and language change

The metaphors found in the discourse on foreignisms in Russian belong to several distinct but related domains. The broad areas singled out in the analysis are the domains of the body, nature, and war. These areas were found by reading all data material and noting the most widespread metaphor scenarios. Once they were established, a search was conducted specifically for texts including metaphors of dirt, illness and death to gain a quantitative overview of what metaphors were most widespread. Metaphors of landscape and water, not initially searched out quantitatively, proved in qualitative textual analysis to be a prolific area of metaphorical description as well. Metaphors of dirt, illness and war were analysed by combining the base query (see chapter 3, 5.4.) with key words specific to the topic:

DIRT

search: (англицизм* или (американизм* и язык*) или иноязыч* /и (заимствован* или слов*)) и (засор* или гряз* или мусор* или чист* или очист*)

DEATH/ILLNESS

search: (англицизм* или (американизм* и язык*) или иноязыч* /и (заимствован* или слов*)) и язык* и (вирус или аллерг* или паразит или смерт* или болезн* или гиб* или погиб* или умир* или имер*)

INVASION/AGGRESSION/WAR

search: (англицизм* или (американизм* и язы*) или инаязыч* /и (заимствован* или слов*)) и (внедр* или агресс* или втор* или наплы* или грани* или берег* или разруш* или борьб* или воин*)

This search yielded the following results, sorted by publication:

Table 4: Metaphors by publication summary

Publication	Dirt	Illness/Death	Aggression/War
Argumenty i Fakty	3	3	3
Izvestiia	10	12	16
Kommersant	6	6	14
Literaturnaia Gazeta	11	8	16
Nezavisimaia Gazeta	11	50	45
Ogonek	8	10	8
Rossiiskaia Gazeta	22	20	22
Total	72	109	124

Metaphors of illness and aggression are most widespread, these metaphors also include many very entrenched metaphors, as the sections below show. Metaphors of threat, war, sickness and death are typical in metadiscourse on anglicisms in a variety of cultures since the 1990s, as Braselmann shows (2004: 102), but the Russian metadiscourse combines them in particular scenarios. The third area, metaphors of nature, was also found to play a great part. Metaphors of dirt belong to metaphor scenarios of nature.

The discussion deals with the domains of BODY, NATURE and WAR in turn and shows how they are connected and blended in metaphor scenarios and narratives. As well, a section on mixed metaphorical narratives at the end gives more insight on how metaphors are combined and to what effect.

2.1. Metaphors of PERSON and BODY

In Russian debates on foreignisms and in descriptions of language in general, body metaphors abound. Using the metaphor of LANGUAGE IS A PERSON is

commonplace in discourse on language. Metaphoric constructions linking language and the human body are widespread in both lay discourse and expert discourse (e.g. research on language death (e.g. Crystal 2000, Romaine 2010). Goatly (1997: 76) calls the metaphoric relationship between words/language and human life a root analogy. This analogy can be instrumentalised on a variety of levels. For example, languages

- can be governed or employed
- may be alive or dead
- relate to one another
- display same qualities as humans
- to be cut up like, and have the same parts as, humans.

(Goatly 1997: 76)

The idea of a root analogy and its instrumentalisations is reminiscent of Musolff's metaphor scenarios, as such analogies can produce whole mini-narratives. The examples below show that the mini-narrative of language as a person can be instrumentalised in different ways in the argument. The discourse on language change and anglicisms in Russian makes use of several body metaphors: presenting language as a person who must be cared for, describing language change as intake of food/drink and digestion, or using metaphors of illness and death. The following table shows what metaphor scenarios and narratives are employed, the subsequent discussion elaborates on the different scenarios.

Table 5: Metaphor scenarios language = human

Metaphor scenario		Example
Personal relationships	Language = person in need of protection Language = friend or enemy	Язык теряет силу сопротивления Нужна ли языку защита? Язык для нас теперь по крайней мере не друг. Потому что друзей так не подводят, не предают
Food intake	Anglicisms = nourishment for the Russian language; language change = digestion	разговорный русский всосал немыслимое количество англицизмов активно впитывать и перерабатывать чужую речь
Illness and mortality	Anglicisms = illness/ carrier of bacteria/ parasites/violent force Language = ill person in danger of dying New words = Stillbirth Language change = illness that can be terminal, but can also be survived	"болезнь новизны" приняла хронический характер иностранные слова ... калечат прекрасный древний язык "болезнь новизны" приняла хронический характер эти бациллоносители уродуют и собственно русскую речь, безжалостно заражая болезнью кого ни попадя погибает язык эта болезнь, раковые метастазы, дошла и до нашей речи мертворожденных слов Русский язык пережил еще худший период

2.1.1. Personal relationships

Firstly, Russian is portrayed as a whole person – a friend, or foe, or having characteristics of a person:

- “Язык для нас теперь по крайней мере не друг. Потому что друзей так не подводят, не предают” (Literaturnaia Gazeta 5, 14.05.2008)
- “Язык мой враг или друг?” (Rossiiskaia Gazeta 1, 19.01.1996)
- “Русский язык эгоистичен.” (Literaturnaia Gazeta 6, 24.06.2009).

The Russian language is portrayed as a separate entity from speakers, but one that is close or should be close, as a friend. This friend can however turn into a foe, or speakers can behave in a non-friendlike manner towards it. The metaphor of language as a friend underscores the idea that speakers need to care for the relationship with this friend and that one has responsibilities towards it. As well, the Russian language is portrayed as egotistic, also as condescending. This is only one example of the giving the language characteristics of a thinking, feeling person. Russian is with this metaphor also given agency, underscoring that the language itself is in a good state, but the speakers are flawed.

The metaphor scenario of language as a human includes notions of danger:

“Споры о том, надо ли регулировать языковые нормы и защищать русский язык с помощью закона, ведутся постоянно.” (Argumenty i Fakty 1, 27.12.2000)

“Когда же мы начинаем говорить о защите русского языка” (Pravda 2, 27.01.1999)

“Нужна ли языку защита? Ответу сразу: нужна” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 10, 14.01.2009)

“Язык теряет силу сопротивления” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 2, 30.03.1996)

“Что делать? СПАСТИ язык законами.” (Argumenty i Fakty 2, 04.02.2004).

“Защищать язык нужно от нас самих, неправильно произносящих слова и пишущих зачастую с ошибками.” (Izvestiia 7, 17.05.2007)

Language needs protection from harm and must be saved. The notion of protection and harm is an entrenched bodily metaphor. Language is portrayed as a human to be cared for, its strength is not emphasised. The discourse here uses the potential scenario of a language in need of protection. This narrative includes given knowledge that some languages are more robust than others, and that language death can occur. The threat that Russian might suffer language decay is implied.

2.1.2. Language change as digestion

The agency and independence of Russian is also emphasised by the metaphorical scenario of food intake and digestion. The language is often described as drinking, swallowing, or digesting foreignisms and other language elements:

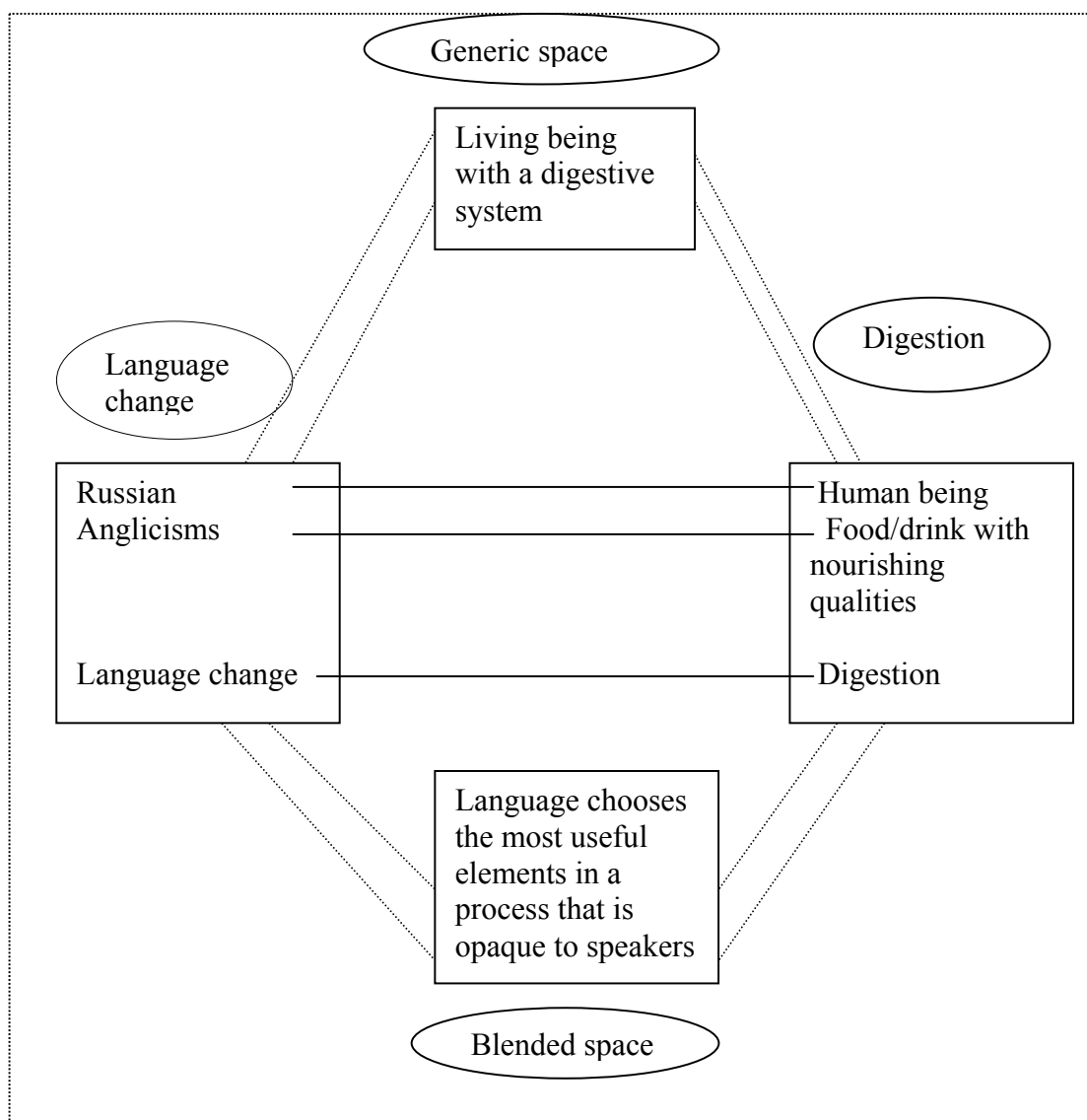
“Обязательное качество любого языка - активно впитывать и перерабатывать чужую речь” (Izvestiia 3, 17.04.2002)

“за десять лет разговорный русский всосал немислимое количество англицизмов” (Kommersant 2, 29.04.2000).

“Хочется верить оптимистам, утверждающим, что русскому языку не страшен поток заимствований и жаргонизмов, он все «переварит» (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 9, 13.10.2006)

The conceptual metaphor Anglicism = food/drink initially seems easily explained. Russian is equated to a person, who must eat and drink and digest in order to survive. Yet, stating that Russian is conceptually linked to a person eating, drinking and digesting, and anglicisms to food or drink, does not fully explain this metaphorical construction. Not all elements of eating and drinking enter into the metaphor. For example, Russian is not described as feeling hunger or thirst; nor are the particularly nourishing qualities of the foreignisms mentioned. Instead, the focus is on Russian as an organism with a metabolism, able to digest the foreign words and deal with them. An analysis of this blend shows that only particular aspects of the source domain are salient and enter the blend, whereas others are ignored. Using the framework of blending as described in chapter 3 (3.2.) reveals how the metaphor is constructed.

Figure 4: Metaphor blend LANGUAGE CHANGE = DIGESTION



Input 1 is associated with the domain of language. From here, the concept of words being used in a language, words changing in the language or being used in a particular way and becoming part of the language is contributed to the blend. Input 2 is nourishment. From that space, notions of food and drink entering the body and being digested enter the blend. The generic space contains the notion of ‘elements added to an entity, with consequences’. The blended space portrays language as able to use words to its advantage or alternatively secrete them as part of the digestive process, as an autonomous organism feeding itself with words and digesting them. Other concepts linked with food and digestion, for example hunger, food preparation, good/bad food and taste are ignored in the blend. The image of language feeding on

words and digesting them to its best needs gives reassurance that the organism is equipped to cope with the words. This message does not originate merely from the food/nourishment input (source domain in CMT), but also from knowledge of languages as distinct systems, and knowledge that words can also disappear from a language or change within a language. However, the metaphorical blend emphasises the assumed capability for Russian to deal with the foreignisms itself within the system, as an autonomous entity taking care of itself. At the same time, the details of these processes – like digestive processes – are mostly hidden from view, and veiled in incomprehensibility for all but experts in the field. This reinforces a particular image of language as active and language change as removed from the speakers' conscious agency.

The following chart illustrates the metaphorical scenario of language as a person with the input from the areas of personal relationships, nourishment, and digestion.

Table 6: Language = Person

Russian language	Friend or maybe foe Friend who must be cared for
Speakers	Potentially irresponsible, unworthy partners in a relationship
Appearance of anglicisms	Intake of food and drink
Language change	Digestion

The result of the metaphor scenario Russian as a person is that Russian is powerful, but the right care must be exercised by speakers so as not to upset a personal relationship or disturb a complex process (digestion/language change). The contrast between a powerful system and its vulnerability is further expressed in metaphor scenarios of illness and death.

2.1.3. Metaphors of illness and death

Metaphors of illness, life and death in metalanguage are widespread. This discourse does also feature in professional discourse on language, for example language death

is a widely accepted academic term (see section 2.1 – note, though, that usually the term language death is used in connection with small languages with low prestige and a very small number of speakers, rather than a world language like Russian). They provide a very physical, drastic image that conveys the seriousness the author feels about language, and construct grave threat.

Language is portrayed as a person having to survive an illness:

“Однако язык пережил все потрясения довольно безболезненно.”

(Nezavisimaia Gazeta 9, 13.10.2006)

“На мой вкус, в русском сейчас излишне много англицизмов. Но и это не смертельно. Русский язык пережил еще худший период при Петре I.”

(Rossiiskaia Gazeta 3, 15.09.2006).

Russian, according to this scenario, has suffered illness in the past, but survived. Nevertheless the illness is portrayed as serious: Its unharmed status is qualified by ‘довольно’, which gives the idea that some damage may have been sustained. Similarly, in the second example, the quantity of anglicisms is not deadly, as Russian survived an even worse period. The narrative describes Russian as very strong and capable of withstanding harmful influences. Thus the metaphor of anglicisms = illness/death can be instrumentalised to argue for the relative harmlessness of foreign influences vis-a-vis the healing resources of the language. However, the metaphor scenario of illness can also be used to argue that it is in serious danger. Anglicisms cripple the language and offend the Cyrillic alphabet:

“иностранные слова, произнесенные с экрана, не просто калечат прекрасный древний язык и оскорбляют кириллицу...” (Pravda 1, 06.05.1997)

Language (in this case Bulgarian, which however symbolically stands for Russian in this example) can be crippled like a person by violent foreign words that are pronounced from the screen. Crucially, the people pronouncing them are backgrounded, the words themselves are seen as the danger, or the offender. In this scenario, anglicisms are a faceless threat to the language; the language is cast in a positive light (прекрасный, древний), as something worth caring for.

In the discourse on foreignisms, metaphors of care and protection are closely linked to the metaphors of death and illness. Protection is demanded as Russian is losing the power to resist, and must be saved:

“Но сегодня уже мало кто сомневается в необходимости защиты языка. Вопреки успокаивающим рассуждениям - мол, это временное явление - "болезнь новизны" приняла хронический характер, побеждая язык Пушкина.” (Rossiiskaia Gazeta 5, 16.04.2008)

The threat is framed as occurring today, in contrast maybe to earlier times (Но сегодня уже). Moderate viewpoints are framed as naïve. The imaginary utterance of those who are not concerned (мол, это временное явление) is contrasted with the image of the illness of novelty having become chronic, evoking a scenario of chronic illness that is constant and having a bad influence all the time. The metaphor of battle is added to the illness scenario, as is often the case in illness metaphor (see below): the new words have defeated Russian, and not just Russian, but the language of Pushkin (побеждая язык Пушкина); Pushkin is a source of emotive utterances about language and a source of language myth (cf. chapter 5, 3.2.1.2.).

A sub-scenario of infection supports the metaphor scenario of illness. Russians who use foreignisms are carriers of bacteria, mercilessly infecting with illness everyone they meet, the borrowings themselves are parasites, existing alongside Russian equivalents.

“покорили какие-то тевтоны, только не иноземные, а наши собственные, внутренние) эти бациллоносители уродуют и собственно русскую речь, безжалостно заражая болезнью кого ни попадя”
“большинство заимствований у нас, паразитируя в синонимическом ряду с традиционными русскими аналогами...” (Literaturnaia Gazeta 5, 14.05.2008)
“В то же время многие из них поражены бациллой низкопоклонства перед Западом.” (Pravda 2, 27.01.1999)

The harmful speakers are distanced (какие-то тевтоны), yet their status as endemic is underscored by the phrase наши собственные, внутренние, all three words emphasizing the endemic character of these harmful elements. The idea of mercilessness introduces a moral dimension and portrays the act of infection as

intentional, a process that could be prevented were it not for the incorrectly behaving speakers. Similarly, casting foreignisms as parasites suggests that they must be eliminated. Here again a moral aspect is introduced by традиционными русскими аналогами, presupposing that the great tradition should be followed. Bowing down to the west, a subservient act, is described as an illness that is transmitted to speakers. The scenario of infection describes Anglicism use as a force that comes from outside rather than a choice speakers make. This makes speakers passive and powerless.

Metaphors of harm are not limited to describing language change, but can also be used in describing measures aimed at interfering in language development and trying to put a stop to foreignism use. Metaphors include castration or Chinese foot binding, such as in the next, overtly anti-purist example:

“вдруг решают побороться за чистоту русского языка. Путем его кастрации.” ... “Они хотят, чтобы было красиво. Но язык-то – живой! Когда-то в Китае девочкам туго бинтовали ноги, чтобы ступни не росли. Тоже для красоты старались.” (Literaturnaia Gazeta 1, 12.09. 2001)

Here again Russian is conceived of as a person, but this time as a healthy human being whose body is interfered with unnecessarily with extremely negative effect (castration, deformed feet) by people who do it for the sake of beauty, disregarding the rights of the human being. Both purists and those arguing against them are using the same metaphors of physical harm and threat. The illness metaphor scenario does not limit itself to language, but includes the whole society too. As part of the illness scenario in the discourse, the state of society is linked directly to the ‘sick’ language:

“Общество глубоко больно, и эта болезнь, раковые метастазы, дошла и до нашей речи.” (Izvestiia 4, 09.09.2003)
“Болезни языка, безусловно, связаны с болезнями общества.” (Pravda 3, 30.06.2000)
“погибает язык — погибает народ” (Pravda 5, 12.02.2004).

The illness of society is here framed as cancer, where metastases now already reach language, an intrinsic part of society. The emphasis on the process of illness (дошла и до) implies that it could continue with disastrous, but unspecified consequences.

Similarly the link between illness of language and illness of society is made stronger by the modality marker безусловно. The simple equation of death of language and death of people is a strong signal of the essential status of language. All in all, the linking of language and society and their common illnesses makes a convincing, commonsense argument. Although what death means is not specified, the metaphor, operating at an abstract level, automatically validates the argument.

The following table shows how the scenario of language as a body and anglicisms as illness combine and what common messages they send out:

Table 7: Language change = Illness

Russian language and change	Human health
Anglicisms	Illness Parasites
Speakers using anglicisms	Carriers of infection
Using anglicisms, or trying to restrict use of the certain language	Crippling, mutilation
Continued existence of Russian	Survival of illness
Anglicisms replacing Russian words	Death

In its metaphorical representation, language is alive, but in danger and must be cared for. The danger is tangible and familiar, yet abstract and has not been experienced. The metaphoric narrative scenario of health emphasises the structural, systemic nature of language as well as the need to guard against anglicisms (the illness or parasite). Fauconnier, using the example of computer viruses, shows that the health domain is a productive and effective source domain because it is “an exceptionally good and readily accessible representative of the abstract schema” (1997: 19). The virus metaphor works at a high level of abstraction and ignores technicalities, thus making it accessible for people who do not necessarily have expert knowledge about computers in Fauconnier's example, or linguistic processes in this case. The consequences envisaged, should anglicisms be allowed to spread unchecked, are highly abstracted in the discourse using bodily metaphors. On the one hand, the

recipient intuitively understands that letting anglicisms spread virally will damage the body of the Russian language possibly irreparably and may even lead to death. On the other hand, actual consequences of the accelerated spread of anglicisms are obscured. As the state of the Russian language in such a case cannot be predicted, but is likely to be non-dramatic for the immediate safety and welfare of speakers, this high level of abstraction is an ideal choice. Discourse fuelling (and fuelled by) fear of the Other juxtaposes two alternatives: illness/potential death, or health. Combined with the metaphors of nutrition/digestion and human relations that conceive of Russian as a system able to digest foreignisms, yet under threat by lack of care and friendship, the illness metaphors create tension between two poles. On the one hand, Russian is strong and can cope. Yet, there is danger of chaos and disappearance. The same contrast is set up in metaphors of nature.

2.2. Metaphors of nature

Metaphors of nature constitute another important and very powerful domain of metaphorical constructions, touching on central themes of existence in general. The discourse metaphor of language as organism and as species has dominated linguistics for centuries, Frank (2008: 216) states. As well, metaphors of nature are frequently used to express nationalist sentiments, for example by highlighting the particularities of the landscape of a country, or the connection of a particular people to their land and soil. In metadiscourse on anglicisms in the Russian language, metaphors of nature are employed in several ways. There are metaphors of nature as a self-regulating system, language as a beautiful landscape polluted by rubbish, and language change as natural disaster and catastrophe, mostly flooding. However, water metaphors also convey positive images of life-sustaining clean water and pure sources.

Table 8: Metaphor scenarios of nature

Metaphor scenario		Example
Ecosystem	Self regulating system	язык – это действительно саморегулирующаяся система тропический лес языка Нельзя только насильственно побуждать живую систему к изменениям
	Foreign elements in system	дико, мертво, как железобетонная конструкция в березовой роще
Agriculture	Russian = soil that must be cared for in order to be useful	Языковую “пашню”, как и пахотную землю, надо защищать от засорения, деформации и оскудения
Water intake	Pure Russian = clean water giving life	в "корявом говоре миллионов" обнаружить экологически чистые источники языка острова экологически чистой русской речи в океане дурновкусия и "нахлына" иноязычной лексики Языковая стихия, как река в половодье, берет из окружающего мира все, что ей потребно, и выбрасывает на берег лишнее
Flooding	Anglicisms = flood threatening the landscape dirt brought/thrown out by high waters	громадное вливание в нашу речь американизмов они вторгаются в текст, наводняют рекламу Русский язык наводняется английскими словами
Dirt	Anglicisms = dirt littering the landscape	опасно и засорение языка иностранными словами Как наш язык засорен всякими англицизмами

2.2.1. Language as a self-regulating system

The image of language as a self-regulating system that does not need interference is widespread. The notion of the self-sufficient system also operates in body/health

metaphors, as seen above. Interfering with the self-regulating system is warned against:

“Ведь язык – это действительно саморегулирующаяся система.”
(Nezavisimaia Gazeta 10, 14.01.2009)
“тропический лес языка” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 10, 14.01.2009)
“Нельзя только насильственно побуждать живую систему к изменениям. От этого она только страдает.” (Izvestiia 2, 11.08.2001)
“По-русски они звучат и выглядят дико, мертво, как железобетонная конструкция в березовой роще.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 7, 09.10.2003)

Language is called a self-regulating system (саморегулирующаяся система), or a tropical forest. This metaphor suggests that language is a complex, potentially incomprehensible system, by using the exoticising image of a tropical forest: unfamiliar, dense, and hard to negotiate. The third example cautions against excessive interfering with the living system. Such metaphors reinforce the notion of language as a complex, mysterious system that speakers cannot manipulate without causing harm. It regulates itself, but speakers must not interfere. However, some aspects do not enter this metaphorical scenario, for example the idea of a self regulatory system as a closed off unit. It is still intimately connected with speakers, the discourse leaves unclear how this is the case. In the last example, the anglicisms are characterised as wild, then dead, which equates them with animals. But then they are also compared to a concrete construction in a birch forest, where it does not belong. The natural, well-functioning system has been metaphorically infiltrated by a foreign element that does not belong and ruins the balance. The nature itself here is exemplified with the birch wood, which is a particularly evocative Russian image. Most metaphors of nature give a scenario of a perfect, self-regulating system that is in danger from outside elements. The speakers have no role in this scenario apart from keeping the intruders at bay. A different scenario, of agriculture, grants speakers a greater role, but again only as fulfilling their duties:

Языковую “пашню”, как и пахотную землю, надо защищать от засорения, деформации и оскудения” (Pravda 3, 30.06.2000)

Language is framed in terms of earth, a field of ploughed soil. Language is in this scenario a life-giving resource where other organisms can grow. Anglicisms are viewed in terms of dirt, but also deformations (casting language in the role of ‘body’), and impoverishment. The antimiranda засорение, деформация and оскудение warn of dire consequences should language not be cared for.

2.2.2. Anglicisms as dirt, speakers as polluters

Warnings of harm to the system are often expressed in metaphor scenarios of cleanliness. Here cleanliness and purity pertains to the natural landscape, littered with dirt and garbage. In this scenario, the language is a landscape or object that is soiled or polluted and must be cleaned. The word ‘засорение’ is a stock term in discourse on foreignisms:

“идет засорение, искажение и обеднение родного языка” (Pravda 3, 30.06.2000)
“Но опасно и засорение языка иностранными словами и жаргонизмами.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 6, 02.12.2000)
“Как наш язык засорен всякими англицизмами: френд, киллер, мейнстрим” (Izvestiia 6, 26.03.2007)
“Мы вполне разделяем тревогу классика по поводу засорения родного языка невыносимыми англицизмами типа "уик-энд", "брифинг", "имидж" и т. д.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 1, 02.03.1996)

The pollution is agentless – although a grammatical agent may exist, the individuals behind linguistic processes are not mentioned (опасно и засорение языка иностранными словами и жаргонизмами; наш язык засорен всякими англицизмами) and listed together with distortion and impoverishment (идет засорение, искажение и обеднение родного языка). This list of agentless, negative concepts constructs linguistic processes as a threat. The next examples emphasise the polluting role of foreign words rather than speakers using them:

“Если бы одни заимствования засоряли русский язык - невелика беда.” (Argumenty i Fakty 2, 04.02.2004)
“Разумеется, иностранные слова засоряют речь” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 5, 04.12.1997)

In the scenario of pollution, an original state of cleanliness of the Russian language is constructed and contrasted with the current, unsatisfactory condition. The scenario infers that the original clean state of Russian can be reinstated: the language has a natural state it must be returned to. Overall the language is here conceived as a separate, perfect, pure entity that can be polluted but can also be cleaned, and anglicisms are not part of the language proper and must be cast away. The scenario of the dirty landscape, requiring action, is different from the scenario of the self-regulating system, which explicitly advocates that language be left alone. Yet, the self-containing system scenario was also elaborated to include calls for protection of the system. Thus, the two scenarios feature a continuum of possible intervention. Both scenarios conceive of language as a system that has a natural, perfect state, but advocate different ways of attaining it.

2.2.3. Water metaphors

Metaphor scenarios of water and flood are used frequently in metadiscourse on anglicisms. These metaphors mostly frame the appearance of anglicisms in Russian as natural disaster, but in some instances, water metaphors convey positive images: Good Russian is clean water, coming from an ecologically pure source that has been polluted and must be found again.

“Нужен глаз-ватерпас, корневая, исходная связь с речевой стихией народа, чутье художника, чтобы в "корявом говоре миллионов" обнаружить экологически чистые источники языка.”(Nezavisimaia Gazeta 2, 30.03.1996)
 “острова экологически чистой русской речи в океане дурновкусия и "нахлына" иноязычной лексики, заполонившей не только СМИ, но уже и литературу ... испить чистой водицы перед большой дорогой.” (ibid)

The metaphors of the clean source and of cleanliness in the midst of dirt (islands of clean Russian in the ocean of bad taste and foreign influence) support the existence of a pure source of language which is an aspect of folk belief and language purism (Milroy 2001: 548, Spolsky 2004: 22, Jernudd 1989: 3). The ideological effect of this metaphor relies on the commonsense argumentation that access clean water is essential for survival. The metaphor of life-giving resource essentialises Russian.

This metaphor scenario of water also suggests a flow from one direction to another – usually from the past to present. In another natural water metaphor, language is described as a river, taking what it needs from the surrounding land, and leaving superfluous elements at the bank:

“Языковая стихия, как река в половодье, берет из окружающего мира все, что ей потребно, и выбрасывает на берег лишнее.” (Literaturnaia Gazeta 3, 24.02.2005)

By equating the language with a river, the aspect of natural system is emphasised; language is a natural, unstoppable force behaving in a natural and positive way. The construction here also gives agency to language: Language takes, chooses and discards. Thus, again, the natural character of language is combined with its strength and autonomy. Speakers and language usage have no role in this scenario. Mostly, however, the water metaphors portray anglicisms in terms of flood and natural catastrophe. Many of these metaphors are entrenched:

“Произошло громадное вливание в нашу речь американизмов и техницизмов.” (Ogonek 1, 16.02.1998)

“В русский язык хлынуло огромное количество технических терминов - германизмов, англицизмов...” (Izvestiia 5, 01.11.2006)

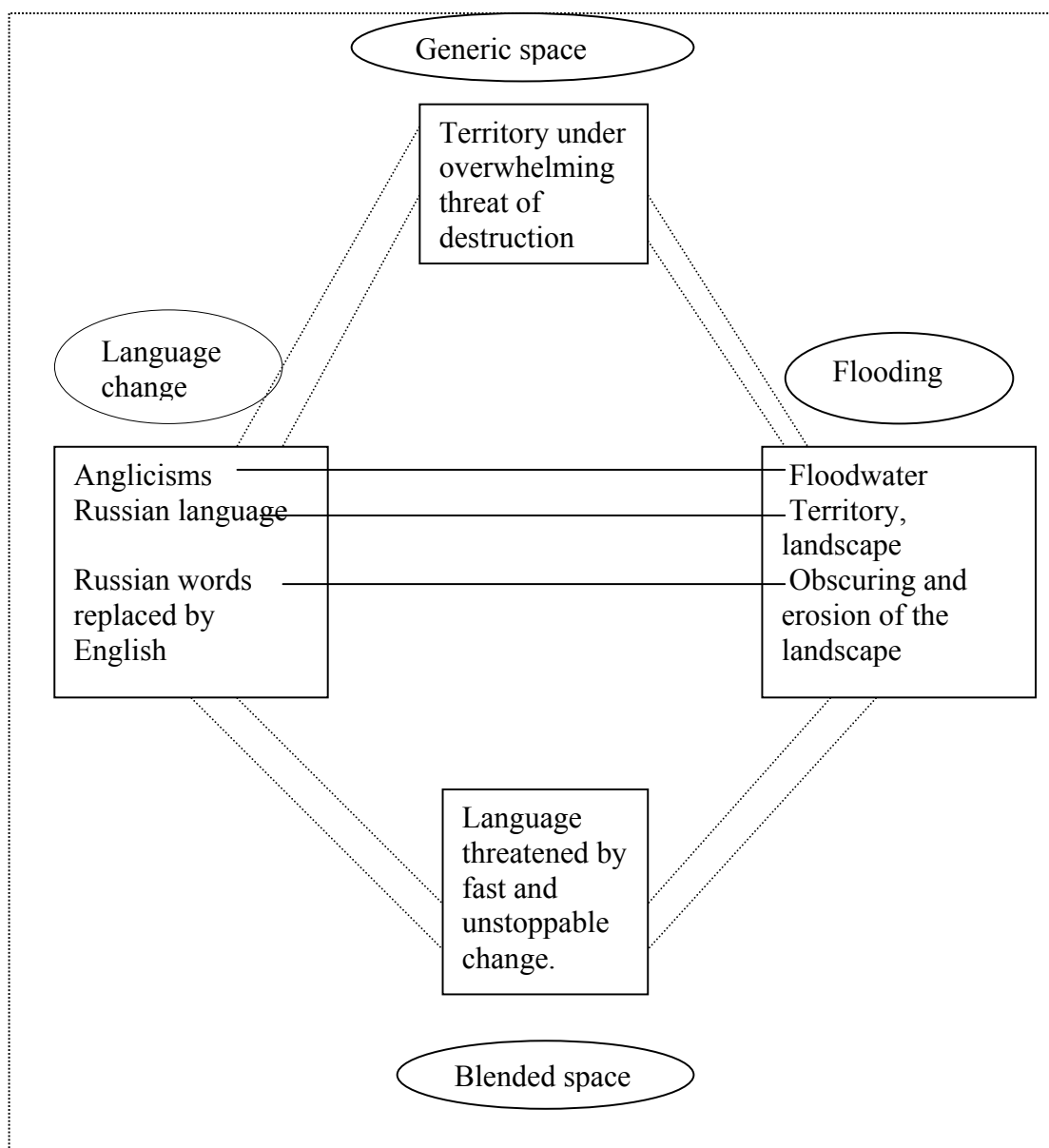
“Англо- и иноязычными словами в их натуральном написании сегодня пестрят страницы прессы, они вторгаются в текст, наводняют рекламу.” (Literaturnaia Gazeta 3, 24.02.2005)

“Ежедневно в русский язык вливается по 6-7 иностранных варваризмов образца "портфолио" и "топлес". (Argumenty i Fakty 2, 04.02.2004)

“Русский язык наводняется английскими словами ... Многие жалуются, что русский язык захлестнула мутная волна "иноязычных вливаний". ... В постсоветскую эпоху этот поток расширился и ускорился неимоверно, так что уже никто и не считает. ... заимствования со средней скоростью 6-7 слов в день продолжают вливаться в русский язык.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 7, 09.10.2003)

The overall image conveyed by the water metaphors such as ‘вливание’ and ‘наводняют’ is a vision of natural disaster. The land, i.e. Russian, is overwhelmed by an unstoppable force bringing elements that do not normally belong there.

Figure 5: Metaphor blend LANGUAGE CHANGE = FLOOD



Santa Ana (2003: 210) explains the narrative of the flood metaphor as follows: “Water flows into territory. Water threatens to inundate it. In small quantities, territory can absorb water. In large quantities, water will change territory. Territory is unable to absorb or control the flow of water. Territory will be eroded and destroyed.” The land, thus the language, is helpless and defenceless against the waves (мутная волна "иноязычных вливаний"). The aspects that enter the scenario of the ANGLICISMS ARE A FLOOD metaphors emphasise the overwhelming of the system. The natural aspect of floods occurring regularly and not maliciously do not enter the blend.

The following table shows how the metaphor scenario of nature functions:

Table 9: Metaphors of nature summary

Russian language	Nature	Blend
Russian	Self-regulating organic system Landscape Arable land	Self-sufficient, separated from speakers Territory, passive Life-giving
Good Russian	Birch forest Clean water source Islands	Long history Life-giving rare
Anglicisms	Man-made structure Pollutants, dirt Floodwater	Out of place and ugly = negative Acute threat to safety

Again, there is a tension between stating that the language is a well-functioning ecosystem that self-regulates and is able to cope with outside influences, and on the other hand the image of a vulnerable landscape eroded by floodwater. The juxtaposition between a system able to regulate itself and at the same time danger, which was encountered in illness metaphor scenarios, is upheld in metaphors of nature too.

2.3. Metaphors of war and aggression

Metaphor scenarios of war and aggression are linked to all the abovementioned metaphors – in many cases, health/illness as well as cleanliness are represented metaphorically as struggle, battle or war. Struggle and war are one of the most productive thematic complexes for metaphorical constructions. It has been argued that the reason is the central role of conflict in human (co-) existence (Charteris-Black 2000). In the metaphoric complex of war and struggle, the Russian language is equated with a country that is at war against aggressors, the foreign influences. This metaphor scenario overtly sets up a connection between language and national identity by using the image of languages as countries at war. The enemy is clearly

delineated; the aggressor, the enemy, is the bad outsider is harming the good insider. The domain of war structures the discourse on Russian language and foreign elements in very absolute terms.

Table 10: Metaphor scenarios of war and aggression

Metaphor scenario		Example
Uncontrolled rampage	Anglicisms = violence Anglicisms = perpetrators	нашествием иноязычной лексики на русский язык непосредственное внедрение чужих символов тянутся в родной язык без разбора и надобности хиты и саммиты
Sovereign states	Border control	Ограждение русского языка от иноязычного вторжения Новая лексика проникает в русский язык через несколько лазеек русский язык открывает свободный путь для иноязычных слов
War, battle	Language policy = fight	Компьютер как современное обстоятельство борьбы за язык Как же бороться с засильем англицизмов Борьба с иноязычной лексикой экспансия иноязычной лексики

2.3.1. Uncontrolled influx and violence of anglicisms

Words of infiltration and invasion are commonplace in discussing foreign influences in Russian, for example вторжение, проникать, внедрение, приток, нашествие:

“Ограждение русского языка от иноязычного вторжения ... вообще это вечная тема.” (Literaturnaia Gazeta 2, 12.04. 2002)

“непосредственное внедрение чужих символов в исконные слова грозит обернуться порчей грамматики, разрушением русского слова как такового - его внешней и внутренней формы.” (Literaturnaia Gazeta 3, 24.02.2005)

“Вот и тянутся в родной язык без разбора и надобности хиты и саммиты, киллеры и дилеры и даже такое неблагозвучное для русского уха, как шоп.” (Pravda 3, 30.06.2000)

“А какая связь между этим фактом и нашествием иноязычной лексики на русский язык?” (Izvestiia 5, 01.11.2006)

“экспансия иноязычной лексики.” (Izvestiia 5, 01.11.2006)

“Действительно экспансия иностранных слов так опасна для русского языка?” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 5, 04.12.1997)

These entrenched metaphors are creating a scenario of territory that is being invaded. The appearance of foreignisms is equated to the expansion of territory. The negative character of this expansion is intensified by qualifying it as unnecessary (непосредственное внедрение). Unwelcome consequences are warned against (порчей грамматики, разрушением русского слова). Metaphor scenarios of war and aggression operate on a highly abstracted level. The recipients do not need details of the aggression taking place in order to form a negative judgment, as knowledge about aggression categorises it as bad. The last example questions whether the expansion is dangerous, but nevertheless the language change is still described as expansion. The discourse metaphor of language change as expansion and language as territory is entrenched. It is also carried further in metaphors of states and borders.

2.3.2 States and borders

Metaphors of countries and borders, and infiltration, are also part of the scenario of war and battle:

“Новая лексика проникает в русский язык через несколько лазеек. Через экономическую сферу пролезли к нам всякие "бартеры-чартеры", "ипотеки" и "маркетинги". Через музыку и телевидение просочились "ток-шоу", "рейтинги", "саундтреки" и "диджеи".” (Argumenty i Fakty 2, 04.02.2004.)

“Во все сферы языка проникают иноязычные заимствования, которые, кажется, никак не контролируются и возникают на пустом месте. Одно дело, когда место действительно пусто и обозначаемый объект не имеет русских аналогов (например, компьютер, флешка), но совсем другое дело, когда русское слово вытесняют с насиженного места.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 9, 13.10.2006)

“Будучи свободным, русский язык открывает свободный путь для иноязычных слов, не стараясь их переделать по-своему.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 4, 05.07.1997)

Firstly, the common description of infiltration for language change (проникают) underscores the idea of a foreign element entering somewhere illicitly. Then, foreignisms are described as uncontrolled (не контролируются), in an impersonal construction that does not reveal whose duty the controlling is. So-called unjustified anglicisms, according to the scenario, squeeze out the equivalent Russian words (вытесняют с насиженного места). The sum of this scenario is unreasonable, violent behaviour on the part of anglicisms that cannot be controlled. However, the metaphor of borders and restricted access is also used in non-purist discourse, for example in the last example. In this scenario, Russian is described as opening the way for foreignisms, without aggression on the part of foreign words. Nevertheless, the scenario equates languages with territory and links language to the nation state.

2.3.3. Metaphors of battle

Other metaphors include an element of fighting back:

“Компьютер как современное обстоятельство борьбы за язык” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 3, 01.06.1997)

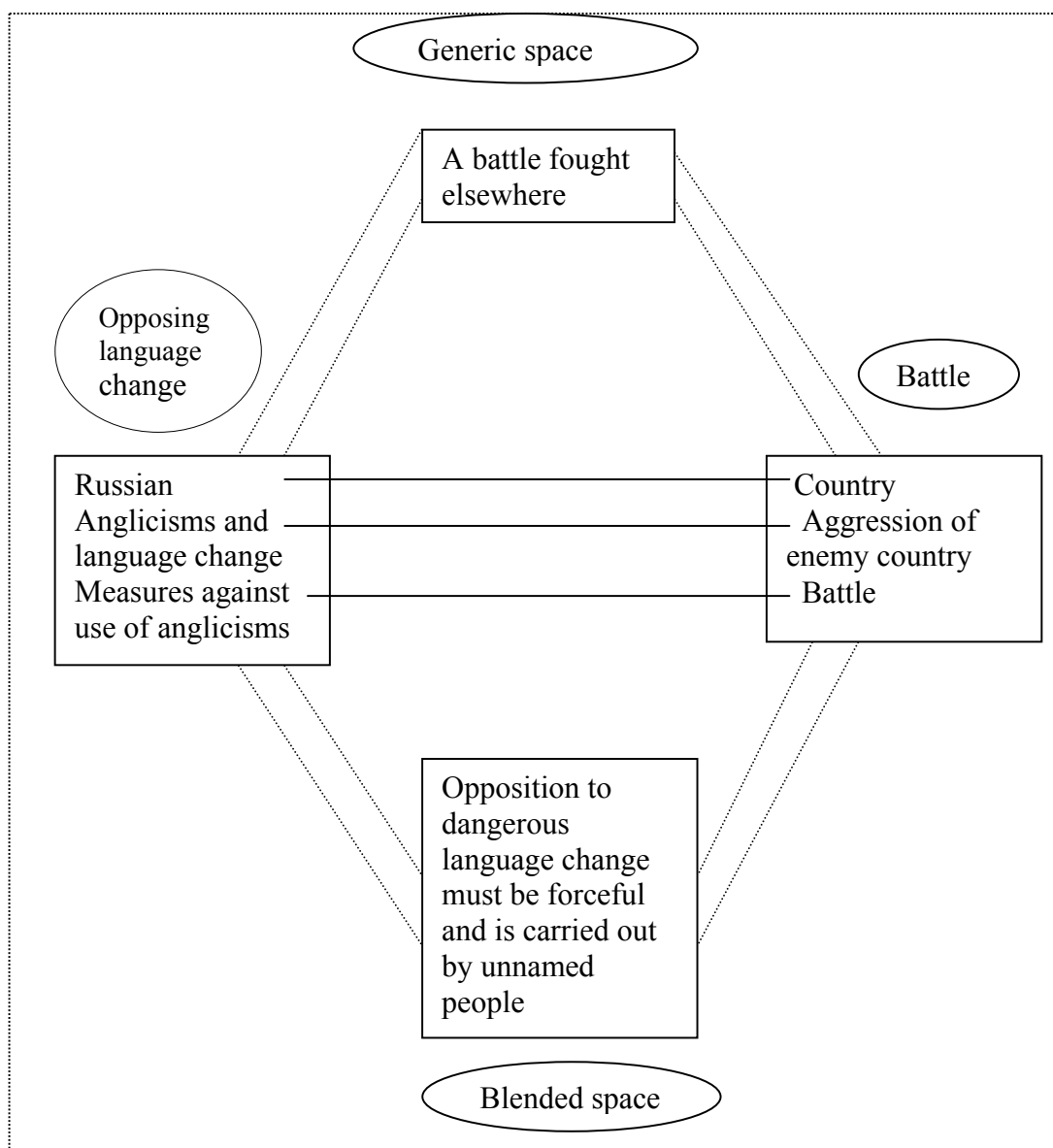
“Как же бороться с засильем англицизмов и профессионального жаргона?” (Rossiiskaia Gazeta 4, 08.11.2006)

“Притоку англицизмов противостоять не нужно.” (Rossiiskaia Gazeta 2, 25.07.2006)

“Борьба с иноязычной лексикой наивна” (Izvestiia 7, 17.05.2007)

Language is talked about in terms of expansion and battle. The metaphoric battle against the aggression of anglicisms puts them on a par with defending the country. However, the focus can also be on language freedom that allows these influences in. The blended metaphor of battle against anglicisms achieves diffuse threat by leaving unspecified who battles, where battles take place and with what aim:

Figure 6: Metaphor blend LANGUAGE POLICY = BATTLE



The blend emphasises knowledge about battles at wartime that happen elsewhere. The readers are not the combatants – this task falls to others, but they are not specified. Neither is there a specification of aims of the battle or place. The blend emphasises the forceful nature of measures against anglicisms and thus also the violent aggression of language change, but no details about opposition to language change are given. The key message here is that language change is negative. The same metaphors of battle are used even when the message is that it is unnecessary to engage in these activities. Anglicisms are still described as *Приток*, and the resistance to them is a fight. Thus, a consensus is achieved that there is an

unstoppable great amount of anglicisms coming in and that engaging with them constitutes war. The war metaphors are even explicitly commented on in one particular text:

“И, конечно, не случайны были высказывания с трибуны, напоминавшие разговор о боевых действиях. Валентин Распутин: “Литература, культура, язык наш сейчас в окружении. Нас обложили со всех сторон”. Николай Скатов, директор Пушкинского Дома: “Это последняя линия обороны и первая линия наступления — язык.” (Pravda 5, 12.02.2004)

This text thematises the metaphors of war and struggle and states that they are justified. The war metaphor is an elaboration of the entering metaphor, combining the notion of outsiders appearing and resistance against them. In this metaphorical construct, the Russian language is conceptually cast as a country, with anglicisms as perpetrators. This scenario, much like the metaphorical blend of LANGUAGE CHANGE IS DIGESTION described above, expresses the notion of outside elements appearing and being dealt with, but this time by a country/territory rather than an organism. Thus, notions of violence, morally wrong processes and foreignness are evoked in scenarios of war and aggression. Not verbalised in the scenario, however, are specific measures to be taken – these are described just as a battle, but it is not made clear what this battle entails. The blend, though powerful, remains also ambiguous. The scenario of war and aggression puts forth an image of faceless, diffuse threat:

Table 11: Metaphors of war and aggression summary

Language	War/aggression	Blend
Russian	Country, state	Distinct entity with recognised borders
Appearance of anglicisms	Invasion Expansion War	Aggression and conflict between nations
Measures against anglicisms	Battle Defence Closing borders	Necessary measures to ensure security

Russian is in this scenario a sovereign state under attack but capable of defending itself. Russian is threatened with anglicisms – the anglicisms either attack themselves or are used by faceless assailants. Measures against them are complex and justified as defence mechanisms against aggression.

2.4. Mixed metaphors

The metadiscourse also features many mixed metaphorical narratives. Far from aberrations from normal language, these mixed constructions are a vital part of the metadiscourse and also language in general. Kimmel (2010: 98f), examining mixed metaphors in UK newspaper discourse, shows that constructs with elements from different source domains are used frequently and are straightforward to understand. Indeed, mixed constructions can occur more frequently than single-domain metaphors. Shen and Balaban (1999: 1998) found mixed metaphor clusters more frequent in non-signalled (i.e. not introduced in advance) metaphors in journalism. As well, Koller (2004: 40f) shows that different metaphors do not necessarily indicate that there are conflicting discourses, they express complex coherences and can serve to reinforce prevalent meanings. Her analysis of metaphorical hybrids shows that metaphors of WAR, SPORTS and GAME in business talk all serve the same goal of excluding women. Mixed metaphorical constructions found in metadiscourse on foreignisms in Russian include entrenched constructions that have been conventionalised, such as DIRT and WAR metaphors (‘the battle for cleanliness’). Such entrenched, ‘commonsense’ metaphoric constructions, I argue, construct a discourse of threat to the Russian language while remaining vague on the specifics of the threat.

2.4.1. DIRT and FIGHT

A prevalent metaphorical mixture is the combination of input sources cleanliness/dirt and fight/aggression in statements that describe fights for the cleanliness of the language:

“борец за чистоту французского языка” (Kommersant 1, 09.10.1999)

“Всеми силами бороться за чистоту русского языка” (Pravda 6, 27.03.2007)

Cleanliness of the language is framed as difficult to attain, those fighting for it have to overcome adversity. This scenario combines the notions of a pure, original state of language that is conveyed by cleanliness metaphors of language with the issues of threat, security and aggressors included in the war/aggression framework. Even when the key message of the article in question is negative about purist tendencies, the language of cleanliness and battle is still used:

“Всегда непонятны люди, которые борются, например, за «чистоту» языка от иноязычных заимствований.” (Ogonek 2, 14.02.2005)

Although the inverted commas, a “tuning device” (Cameron & Deignan 2006), draw attention to the metaphor, the existence of the concept of clean language is acknowledged. Using metaphors of cleanliness and war together in describing avoidance of anglicisms makes the argument that they are dangerous enemies and action against them must be forceful. This entrenched mixed metaphor can be expressed within one phrase and is a powerful instrument of giving a scenario of danger, fight, original purity and the possibility to reverse language change.

2.4.2. FLOOD and FIGHT

Water/flood/nature metaphors often occur in combination with other metaphors, for example metaphorical constructions combining aggression and natural forces/water:

“активизация иноязычных заимствований уже получила научное определение - "вербальная агрессия". Когда в Россию хлынул поток новых товаров, технологий и явлений, на русский язык обрушилась лавина неологизмов.” (Rossiiskaia Gazeta 5, 16.04.2008)

Importantly, the strategies at work in natural and cleanliness metaphors are of absolute opposition against anglicisms. They are intruders, unwanted, ugly and potentially dangerous elements without redeeming features. Even when language is compared to a self-regulating ecosystem, the prediction is made that anglicisms will vanish anyway, ousted by the self-regulatory mechanisms language has at its

disposal. These natural metaphors recall bodily metaphors portraying language as a body that will rid itself of illness and be cured.

More complex metaphorical constructions are used in some articles, often built up over the course of the text. Consider the following:

“Некоторые считают, что язык - естественный организм, который не нуждается в регуляции. Но с другой стороны, со времен Ломоносова существует мнение, что необходимо держать руку на пульсе языка. А Михаил Горбаневский убежден, что административным путем за чистоту языка бороться бесполезно.” (Izvestiia 4, 09.09.2003)

It should be noted that here only those metaphors pertaining directly to language are mentioned, the text actually contains more metaphors. The target domain is, as before, language. There are several ‘source’ inputs: nature (естественный организм), body/human in need of healthcare (держат руку на пульсе языка), cleanliness and conflict (за чистоту языка бороться бесполезно). Combined with elements from the target domain, language (language as a system, language as being susceptible to change, language being personal and inherent in everyone), a particular scenario is developed, positing the notion of an entity that can be monitored or changed. The element taken from all of the input spaces into the scenario is danger to language as an organism or system of organisms. Language is emotively described as in danger – a person in need of healthcare. Also, the task ahead (cleaning the language) is framed as a struggle, even though this particular example does not state whether such a battle is necessary or not. Overall, the scenarios indicate danger or invasion of something living, whether it is denied (in the first metaphor) or asserted (in the second metaphor). Urgent action (battle), although not directly advocated here, appears as the natural way of treating the problem.

The metadiscourse paints, with the help of mixed metaphors, a picture of Russian under threat: as a country, or a landscape, or a person. The overall scenario is of a self-sufficient system which must defend itself against outside influences. This scenario can both infer that such a defence is unnecessary, and that the speakers have

a duty to mount such a defence. In both cases, the threat from anglicisms is presupposed knowledge – whether the threat is easily dealt with or must be fought.

3. Conclusion

This chapter demonstrated that metaphors are effective because they create narratives to explain complex processes and thus contribute to the construction of common sense and group knowledge. I consider metaphor not an embellishment, but central to thinking and communicating, and as an especially vital tool to explain topics as abstract as language. The debate on anglicisms in Russian print media contains metaphor scenarios of language as a person or a body, scenarios of nature and natural catastrophe, and of war and aggression. Blending theory, discourse metaphors and scenarios were applied to show how the metaphorical constructs only incorporate certain elements and leave others out. The metaphoric scenarios include elements from various input areas. Metaphoric constructions are thus used to foreground some aspects and ignore others.

In the scenario of language as a person or body, metaphoric constructions focused on illness, death but also on taking in nourishment. Other factors were backgrounded to achieve a picture of language as an entity that is in control of itself and has resources, but at the same time vulnerable. The nature metaphors stress the inevitability and catastrophic scale of anglicisms, flooding the landscape of Russian. Metaphors of cleanliness also contribute to the narrative of overwhelming threat. Russian is conceived of as a landscape that is polluted and littered, where sources of clean water are scarce. This scenario includes a possible solution – cleaning up – but does not elaborate on details. Common group knowledge about cleaning means that the cleaning process, and thus the resistance to anglicisms, does not have to be elaborated. A common sense is achieved – something must be clean and tidy to be of use, but why this is important is not mentioned because it is considered self-explanatory. Metaphors of war are even more self explanatory, expansion and

aggression from outside are obviously negative. The need to defend the country's borders appears instantly reasonable, the only possible consequence. The Russian language must be 'battled for', but elements of the battle are not mentioned. The metaphor scenario again operates on a tangible and understandable, yet highly abstract level.

Spitzmüller (2005: 191 ff) analyses reactions about anglicisms in German and finds similar basic metaphors: of illness, flood, and threat to an organic system, amongst others. However, the metaphors are elaborated differently – there are for example a plethora of scenarios involving language as a substance, or as a container, rather than the link between language and country so prevalent in Russian metaphors of borders and war. The differences between German and Russian reactions to anglicisms show that even if basic metaphors are similar, the scenarios and ways of employing them are adapted to the cultural context, and the schema of conceptual metaphor cannot explain these differences. In Russian, thus, metaphor scenarios of foreign borrowing maintain an essentialist position rather than seeing language as an instrument. However, in metaphor scenarios describing the role of the Russian language in general, this has not always been the case. Gorham (2000: 318f) shows that during perestroika times and the early 1990s, language was described as a weapon for social change and democratisation, with instrumental metaphors dominating. Only towards the end of the 1990s did another strand of language discussion gain ground, which wanted to rediscover a national, pure and historically rooted language. The metaphors of threat throughout the discourse on foreignisms, regardless of time, can be explained by the fact that when foreignisms were not perceived as a problem, they were simply not thematised. But when they were discussed in the 1990s, a threat was acknowledged, even if the discourse was mitigating this threat.

On the whole, the metaphor analysis for Russian and anglicisms showed a unanimous discourse of threat. This discourse is sustained even when the tenor of a particular text is sceptical of purism and states that tendencies aiming to limit the use of anglicisms are misguided. At the same time, actual ways of fighting the battle against anglicisms, or what the consequences of the illness are, is left ambiguous. On

the one hand, the metaphors imply that action is necessary – the landscape of language must be cleaned, the battle with the invaders fought, the illness cured. Yet the discourse also proclaims inevitability. The language will ‘digest’ or ‘swallow up’ the anglicisms, the system will take its own course of action, regardless of what speakers do. The duality expresses a desire to keep the status quo as it is – reasonable changes are acceptable, but language will decide itself what is acceptable. Speakers must care for Russian and love it in order to ensure continuity of the language tradition. Details of the nature of proper language, how it is to be attained and what should be avoided remain fuzzy, although writers express strong opinions on what is good and what is not. The consensus of reasonable language change and continuity, which will also ensure intelligibility and make the language both useful and beautiful, is upheld by all. This argumentative strategy is effective because it assumes a consensus, and also assumes everyone to know what reasonable measures and linguistic cleanliness are. It therefore does not have to be very specific in order to convince.

Occasionally metaphoric constructions are found that are more poetic in character than everyday conventional metaphor. The author Tatiana Tolstaia for example writes that:

“теперь завелся, как пырей среди ромашек, какой-то билдинг. За ним, контрабандой, пролез "хай-райз" (high rise). Без билета проехал хот-дог.”
(Moskovskie Novosti 1, 01.12.1998)

This sentence rich in figurative language (metaphors of unwelcome plants, smuggling, and individuals travelling without ticket) does not appear to be conventional language and is easily perceived as metaphorical by the recipient. The first evident comparison of the word билдинг to a weed attracts attention to the metaphorical character of the statement and describes the borrowed word as an ugly outsider among the daisies. A high-rise building is described as a contraband creeping in, using a scenario of smuggling and counterfeit wares. The image of a hot dog travelling without a ticket further articulates arguments of unjustified anglicisms that have no place. This collection of metaphors is used obviously, poetically and

also ironically. However, even in this type of discourse the same metaphors are used as in the more conventional metadiscourse advising against the use of anglicisms – metaphors of nature, battle/war, and viewing anglicisms in terms of persons. The use of particular metaphor scenarios in a multitude of arguments and genres indicates that they are discourse metaphors that have acquired a history of usage in metadiscourse and have become common descriptions of language change and anglicism use.

Both authors who advocate a strong, prohibitive language policy and those in favour of moderate measures or no measures at all share the metaphorical material used in discourse on language change. As Santa Ana states (2003: 212), when groups of opposed viewpoints use the same metaphors, the status quo goes unchallenged. Metaphor operates on an ideological level and upholds the status quo without necessarily appearing to do so. Thus, the importance of linguistic norms and the dominance of authorities on language matters are upheld by both, and the dominant view of language persists.

Chapter 5: Folklinguistic argumentation and language subordination

1. Introduction

The present chapter continues the analysis of metadiscourse of foreignisms and concentrates on argumentative strategies in general, expanding on the findings of the metaphor analysis. This chapter follows and elaborates on the findings of the metaphor analysis by looking at other linguistic means of making arguments in the debate on anglicisms in the Russian language. It will be examined what argumentative strategies apart from metaphor are used to portray the Russian language, anglicisms and language change, and the speakers. The metaphor analysis (chapter 4) shows that metaphors of threat are dominant in the construction of the development of the Russian language. This is achieved by constructing metaphor scenarios of a country at war, a body threatened by illness and death, and a littered landscape. Speakers are in these scenarios guilty of allowing illness to take hold, or spread rubbish, and have a duty to take action. Particular uses of language are advocated and speakers are exhorted to change behaviour. Chapter 4 shows that language is treated as contested, and as a vital element of national security and coherence. Strict norms are advocated even if the author of the statement claims to tolerate language change.

In the previous chapter on metaphors it was seen how they create a consensus on how language is to be considered, but also that this consensus is not without tension. Metaphors are used to construct an image of the language as a system or a person worthy of protection, but also self-sufficient. Language, it is argued, possesses resources allowing it to regenerate and deal with potentially harmful influences from outside. The speakers were by the metaphorical scenarios either cast as harmful agents, for example carriers of bacteria, or they were backgrounded. This sends a powerful message that the speakers have no authority over their language. The implication of this is that authority resides elsewhere. In this chapter, I will analyse

more argumentative strategies and trace how anglicisms and their users are treated discursively, and how a consensus is achieved on what constitutes legitimate Anglicism use.

The issues of authority and legitimation touched on above all involve ideology, as laid out in chapter 2. Language debates are a prime vehicle for ideological content for various reasons. Firstly, language is integral to every member of the community, and something every speaker could claim ownership to. Secondly, language varieties are obvious markers of belonging to the community or remaining outside. This renders language a powerful tool used to construct groups by differentiating between them.

Language norms are ideological and perpetuate hierarchies where some people know the norms and set them and others must follow. Debates on anglicisms give important insights on this network of hierarchical structures, because debates – a set of arguments and a relatively coherent debate with established actors etc – can be formative, provide a lexicon and set of authoritative stock arguments (whether expert or folk), and hegemonize the field (Blommaert 1999: 10). Although in this work the debate over 20 years is examined, not a discussion about a specific issue that is clearly delineated by time, the principles outlined by Blommaert still apply. The ideologies perpetuated or constructed in the discourse must undergo complex processes of reproduction “by means of a variety of institutional, semi-institutional and everyday practices: campaigns, regimentation in social reproduction systems such as schools, administration, army, advertisement, publications (*ibid*)”. The cumulative and also repetitive character of these debates contributes to the creation of commonsense knowledge about language. Attitudes towards language do not simply become valid opinion by themselves, but are constructed in complex ways. As a consequence of these practices, the ideological claims are perceived as commonsense (Blommaert 1999: 10f). Print media are of course part of the institutional practices that perpetuate the reigning language attitudes. Attitudes towards the linguistic changes, revealed in the way the language situation is described and what solutions are offered in the print media, are indicative of wider social tendencies. In debates on language, different viewpoints may coexist. As well

as teasing out these differences, the analysis must also aim to detect what goes unsaid and is backgrounded or eliminated from the debate altogether.

The analysis of strategies follows Wodak's method for examining argumentation strategies as laid out in chapter 3. Wodak et al analyse how strategies that interwoven in the discourse and achieved by various argumentation schemes, brought about by linguistic means (Wodak et al 1999: 35). In this chapter I conduct such an analysis of the Russian metadiscourse on foreignisms and what attitudes are revealed in the metadiscourse. The argumentative strategies in metadiscourse are analysed by examining the linguistic means that achieve them, following the critical-discursive view that a close analysis of text can give information about the potentially hidden messages of a text. The aim is to show overall strategies pursued in the metadiscourse by examining a variety of newspapers over a time span of 20 years.

The chapter is structured as follows: Firstly, I will explain the discursive expression of language attitudes and introduce Lippi-Green's framework of language subordination. This framework builds on the findings of language ideological research and concentrates on the popular discursive construction of a particular linguistic feature (a dialect), like the metadiscourse on foreignisms. Then, the data analytical part delivers the results of the analysis of the metadiscourse. The results are split into three categories, the construction of the language, language changes, and speakers. Then, I summarise the results to establish whether language subordination is at work in the metadiscourse.

2. Language attitudes and subordination

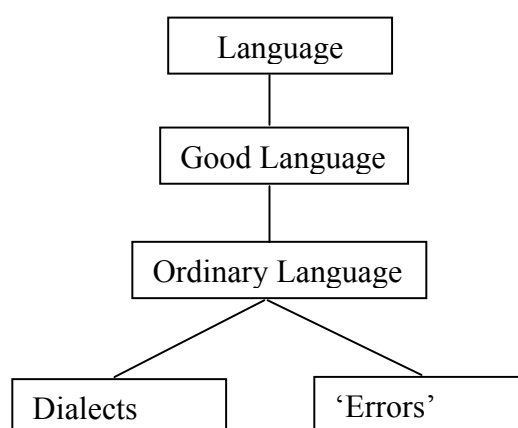
2.1. Attitudes and folklinguistics

The functioning of language attitudes was explained in chapter 1 (2.2.), in particular that they stand in for attitudes towards individuals or groups. Language attitudes were found to express sentiments stretching beyond opinions about linguistic forms. At the same time, these language attitudes are not consciously about more than

language, in fact, the holder of the attitude is sure of the factual, neutral, rational basis of their belief. Chapter 4, accordingly, showed how metaphors construct and give expression to these attitudes in a way that invokes commonsense. Language is metaphorically constructed as something great and holy, while the speakers occupy a subordinated role. The Russian language is also constructed as a distinct, self-contained system that can regulate itself but, in contradiction, must also be looked after. Attitudes towards particular linguistic features and those using them, in this case anglicisms, slot into these metaphorical categorisations by casting them as perpetrators, viruses, dirt etc.

The current chapter examines argumentative strategies other than metaphors in order to find out how other factors contribute to the discursive commonsense created by the metaphors. In particular, judgments of anglicisms and their uses will move to the focus. The metaphor analysis showed signs of processes of language subordination occurring in the discourse on foreignisms. For example, by metaphors of language as a healthy body and speakers as unscrupulous carriers of bacteria, or language as a landscape and anglicism users as its polluters, a moral aspect is introduced that puts speakers in a subordinated place, diminishing their right to their way of speaking. Before focusing on subordination, it must be remembered that most judgments of language are value judgments (Cameron 1995). Preston's description of the difference between expert views of language variety and folk views illustrates the value judgments of folk linguistics. According to folklinguistic thinking, the language system looks as follows:

Figure 7: Folklinguistic view of language



(from Preston, Dennis R. "Folk metalanguage." *Metalanguage: Social and Ideological Perspectives*. Eds. Adam Jaworski, Nikolas Coupland, Dariusz Galasiński. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2004.)

Clear value judgments are discernible in the categorisation of linguistic features into good and erroneous, and constructing a hierarchy of language varieties. Rosina Lippi-Green's framework of language subordination shows in detail how value judgments on language behaviour are constructed as commonsense and made acceptable in the discourse. Thus, Lippi-Green's framework (1997) helps to address how these value judgments make one variety or linguistic features appear inferior but construct a seemingly rational, logical, commonsense argument.

2.2. Language subordination: Lippi-Green (1997)

When certain features of language are categorised as 'errors', as Preston detects in folklinguistic discourse, a value judgment is made about these features, and the feature and its user are subordinated. The print media discourse on Russian language and the use of anglicisms features language subordination processes. Lippi-Green, in a study of attitudes towards African American Vernacular English (AAVE), found that the negative comments on this language variety constituted subordination, as they posited AAVE explicitly as inferior. However, the judgment of inferiority purports to be founded on rational, objective and logical criteria in order to gain acceptance. The discourse thus propagates arguments of common sense. Lippi-Green detects a number of interrelated arguments that are used to subordinate AAVE. She

found the following strategies forming the language subordination process with regards to dialects and accent, with sample statements:

- Language is mystified
You can never hope to comprehend the difficulties and complexities of your mother tongue without expert guidance.
- Authority is claimed
Talk like me/us. We know what we are doing because we have studied language, because we write well.
- Misinformation is generated
The usage you are so attached to is inaccurate. The variant I prefer is superior on historical, aesthetic, or logical grounds.
- Non-mainstream language is trivialized
Look how cute, how homey, how funny.
- Conformers are held up as positive examples
See what you can accomplish if you only try. [...]
- Explicit promises are made
[...]
- Threats are made
No-one important will take you seriously [...]
- Non-conformers are vilified or marginalised
See how wilfully stupid, arrogant, unknowing, uninformed, and/or deviant and unrepresentative these speakers are.”
(Lippi-Green 1997: 68)

Most of the sample statements Lippi-Green gives are clearly judgmental in character. Yet, these statements are presented as rational, commonly accepted discourse on AAVE, because the derided language variety is considered to deviate from the standard norm and consist of blatant errors. The speakers of standard language cultures usually believe there is one correct way of two alternatives (Milroy 2001: 535f); the people exhibiting particular linguistic features are described as stupid or malicious for not following the clear, easily graspable rules. Lippi-Green's framework concerns attitudes towards dialect as opposed to standard language. Lay talk about language does not only feature concerns for the standard language, but for the maintenance of the language as an entity itself (Milroy 2001: 539), as featured in the Russian metadiscourse. It will be analysed to what extent the language debates in Russian newspapers on foreignisms echo this framework and what unique characteristics they exhibit.

3. Analysis

The majority of metaphor scenarios analysed in the previous chapter show that language is considered under threat from outside harm. It will now be examined whether other strategies contribute to constructing the harmful, dangerous elements as subordinate, and how they are controlled by being posited as morally deficient and thus inferior, despite the danger they represent. The thematic areas for this analysis are

- Russian language,
- changes to the Russian language and anglicism use,
- the speakers.

An overview of content areas, strategies and linguistic devices used to achieve the arguments followed by a detailed analysis of the three areas. The thematic areas as well as the argumentative strategies are interwoven and mutually dependent.

3.1. Overview

The results of the analysis can be summed up as follows:

Table 12: Summary of argumentation strategies

Content areas	Strategies	Arguments/devices
Russian language	Construction: Mystification of language as an unchanged, great tradition to be loved and respected	Construction of timeline Topos 'history as a teacher' Great Russian literature as role model Agency of language
	Construction of link between language and society	Misinformation (Separation language/speakers) Language equated with society/mentality
Anglicisms/language change	Justification, construction of authority	Categorisation of language change in positive and negative (Topos 'yes, but'; topos of 'all in good measure')
	Construction of threat	Lack of intelligibility Disappearance of Russian Proliferation of Foreign (Western) ideas National identity/values at risk Topos of hard data and numbers
	Mitigation – trivialisation of anglicisms	Diffuse threat Ridiculing, trivialisation
Speakers	Claiming authority over speakers	Deleting agency of speakers Authority figures Topos of simplification/simple truth France as role model Necessity of legal measures
	Construction of unified speaker community	Conflation of all speakers Appeal to speakers
	Vilification of 'errant' speaker behaviour	Humour, irony Moralising Fashion Distancing, othering

The discourse of language subordination ultimately links language and society and constructs arguments that highlight the importance of caring about language and speaking the right way. Speakers who do not adhere to the rules are vilified as harmful or ridiculous. As a group, speakers are backgrounded by conflation into a unified mass rather than individuals, removing agency and removing them from actions to do with language. Anglicisms are linked with several negative concepts, like western ideas taking over, or the national identity being at risk. The language itself is constructed as a great entity with many resources that commands respect. The discussion will now turn to how a particular image of the Russian language is constructed in debates relating to the appearance of foreignisms.

3.2. The construction of language

The creation of a particular image of the Russian language itself is an integral part of the discourse on anglicisms. As the chapter on metaphor showed, the metadiscourse relies on scenarios and mini-narratives. In discourse on linguistic borrowing, roles are given to all implicated factors, including language itself. For example, in the metaphor scenario of illness, the Russian language became the body, anglicisms were viruses or illness. Apart from metaphor, other means of realisation contribute to strategies constructing Russian in a certain way. The main strategies found in the data are the mystification of language, the construction of language as an independent agent and of a link between language and society. These macrostrategies are achieved by various devices and arguments, as the following table illustrates:

Table 13: Constructing the Russian language

Strategy	Topoi/argumentation	Examples
Construction: Mystification of language	The Great Tradition	<p>Contrast to present (time markers “сегодня”, “Сейчас”) по существу началась’)</p> <p>Topos ‘history as a teacher’ (“что-то вроде второй Петровской эпохи”) (“Я не вижу угрозы в переживаемой нами демократизации языка”) cumulative list, lexical devices (“при Петре... в XIX веке... Еще раньше”; “За прошедшие 15-20 лет ... Позже, в начале XIX века ... В сегодняшней же России...”)</p>
	Great Russian literature as role model	<p>Topos ‘language of famous author’ (“язык Гоголя и Достоевского”) Evoking authority of Pushkin (“как заметил еще Пушкин”, “Пушкина с его галлицизмами” transformation (Anna Akhmatova poem) classic authors’ words on language trope ‘velikii i moguchii’, capitalisation (“Великий и могучий Алфавит”)</p>
	Sanctity of Russian	<p>Biblical quotation (“В начале было Слово”) Biblical language (“искус”)</p>
	Language as an agent	<p>Separation language and speakers</p>
Construction of link between language and society	Societal upheaval equated with unruly language	<p>Topos of ingratitude (“нерадивые его наследники, не способные</p>

		<p>оценить то, что имеем”)</p> <p>Parallel constructions</p> <p>(“Однако... не сам язык - ... а мы,... не язык..., а мы”, “Состояние русского языка - это состояние российского общества”</p> <p>“Говорят: какова жизнь, такой и язык”</p> <p>Language as the mirror of society (“язык - зеркало общества”, “Язык - лишь отражение процессов, переживаемых обществом”)</p> <p>“были нарушены морально-этические ценности, язык стал неуправляемым”</p> <p>Metaphor (“Общество глубоко больно, и эта болезнь, раковые метастазы, дошла и до нашей речи”, “если болен язык, значит больно общество”)</p>
	Language and national independence equated	<p>Causal link (“...допускают засилье чужеземного языка, то человек не может быть свободен, а государство – независимым”)</p> <p>Suggestive scenario</p> <p>(“родная питерская улица все навязчивее общается с нами на чужом языке. Словно бы город сменил свою национальную ориентацию”, “изобилие иностранных слов действует на психологию людей. Будто мы уже и не россияне, а принадлежим неизвестно какому миру”</p>

The above table summarises the strategies used in argumentation about anglicisms that centre on portraying the Russian language in a certain way. The main strategies at work are the mystification of language and the construction of a link between language and society. The ingredients of these strategies are discussed below.

3.2.1. Construction: Mystification of language

The mystification of language is widespread in the discourse on foreignisms. According to Lippi-Green, mystification of language is an essential component in language subordination; because mystification entails the presence of an elite group with exclusive access to the truth of language, to whom the rest must listen (1997: 69). Factual knowledge or scholarly knowledge is blended with folk knowledge on language into a particular image of language, portraying it as abstract and ungraspable. The construction of language as a mystified entity involves the creation or evocation of myth. Mythmaking does not automatically imply the spreading of falsehoods, though. The veracity of a myth is simply not a relevant factor. According to Roy Harris (2002: 5), language myths are different from factual errors or illusions: they can “command credence and respect even from those who recognize, however reluctantly, their essentially mythical character. Myths are often regarded as capturing some higher or symbolic truth, which transcends their superficial lack of factuality, or makes it irrelevant.” This symbolic truth of a myth cannot be tested easily, making myths powerful constructs. Myths are not a priori powerful, however, they must be easily accessible and understandable to the audience. The next sections show how such a commonsense mystification is achieved in Russian metadiscourse.

3.2.1.1. The Great Tradition

The construction of a timeline of language, usually in conjunction with a foundation myth of the language, is a vital component in Russian linguistic discourse which exploits the theme of “the Great Tradition”. The Great tradition is argued with the help of contrasting between former and current times, the topos ‘history as a teacher’, and by using cumulative lists and lexical devices.

Contrast to the present

By contrasting contemporary language with the favourable state of language in days gone by, the discourse suggests a perfect original state of language that must be preserved or reinstated. According to the language myth, the development of language is disregarded, instead the desirable unchanged tradition is emphasised. This construction of the Great Tradition supports the symbolic status of the language (Ryazanova-Clarke 2006a: 49). The timeline can be presented as an unbroken line carrying the Great Tradition forward. Conversely, this perceived traditional, ‘good’ line of language tradition can be contrasted with current, faulty developments, such as in the following:

“Сегодня положение с русским языком в СМИ, прямо скажем, бедственное.” (Pravda 2, 27.01.1999)

Today’s situation is contrasted in the discourse with former times when things used to be different, even if only implicitly (“сегодня”). The current situation is framed with the metadiscursive “прямо скажем”, which conveys that the bad state of language in the media is a universally accepted truth.

Peter the Great – history as a teacher

The timeline is more often constructed with reference to particular historical events. These events are presented as established fact and as bearing complete validity for explaining current linguistic processes. The widespread mentioning in the discourse of the era of Peter the Great is one example of such a historical time. This epoch was marked by a sharp increase in economic and cultural contact with western European countries. As a consequence of these contacts an unprecedented number of words was borrowed (cf summary in chapter 1, 3.2.). Thus, the Petrine era serves as a perfect example of a historical period known for heavy linguistic borrowing:

“Сейчас, в период невиданной перетряски и расширения лексики, сравнимой с петровскими временами...” (Izvestiia 5, 11.08.2001)

The comparison, signalled by *сравнимой*, forms part of the strategy to construct the timeline, using the adjective makes this comparison obvious. Thus, the present situation is given a precedent for speakers to learn from. Yet the comparison is not upheld universally, as *‘невиданная перетряска’* conveys that the current situation is unprecedented. The situation, although comparable to Petrine times, is still portrayed as unique, as more intensive borrowing than occurred before.

Many comparisons are used to prove that the Russian language will survive the present period of borrowing unscathed. The topos of ‘history as a teacher’ is used widely in the construction of the timeline of Russian:

“Мы сейчас переживаем что-то вроде второй Петровской эпохи, когда англицизмы начинают играть такую же роль, какую тогда играли слова из французского, немецкого, голландского языков. Это отсеется.” (Izvestiia 6, 17.04.2002)

“В эпоху Петра I иноязычных слов было столько, что казалось, уже исчез сам русский язык. Я не вижу угрозы и в переживаемой нами демократизации языка.” (Izvestiia 13, 17.05.2007)

“Русский язык пережил еще худший период при Петре I.” (Rossiiskaia Gazeta 22, 15.09.2006)

The comparison with Petrine times is made vague by the adverbial phrase and particle (*что-то вроде*). The vagueness contributes to mythmaking, as myth does not rely on facts, but benefits from opaque relationships of things. Dismantling strategies are used to downplay any threat, for example using negation (*Я не вижу угрозы*), and by comparing current events with Petrine times (*и в переживаемой нами демократизации языка*). As a result, the linguistic changes are downplayed as transitory, not affecting and separate from the language itself.

Apart from the topos of ‘history as a teacher’, several other strategies here construct an image of the Russian language as an entity that is independent of its speakers. The Russian language is constructed as a living being who will survive the processes it is undergoing (*пережил*), thereby it is endowed with agency and power. The speakers’ role is here diminished; it is unclear who steers the democratisation of language (*переживаемой нами демократизации языка*). It is equally obfuscated by an impersonal, agentless construction who the task of sifting the language will fall to

(Это отсеется). The agency of speakers is removed, rendering linguistic processes inevitable and unchangeable.

Intensifying quantifiers are used as well as hedges, for example in the following: “столько, что казалось, уже исчез сам русский язык”. Here, the large quantity of loanwords is emphasised by the imprecise quantifier *столько*, and a temporal aspect is added by *уже* and the perfective verb (*исчез*). The quantifier combined with the urgency and finality of *уже* constructs danger and a sense of insurmountable obstacles. The antimirandum *исчез* adds to the negative tone of the sentence. However, the situation is mitigated by the use of the framing device *казалось* which casts a measure of uncertainty over whether the constructed threat is salient. Tension is created between threat and the uncertainty of threat. This tension forms part of mystification of language and linguistic processes, creating uncertainty on the part of the readers.

Peter the Great – negative comparisons by cumulative listing

Many comparisons with Peter the Great’s times are openly negative. The past is held up as a series of negative examples. Unwelcome changes to the language are portrayed as a cumulative series, are framed in moralistic terms, and given negative words like spoiling.

“Так, в XVII–XVIII веках после Петровских реформ в язык хлынул поток европейских заимствований, в результате русский язык был значительно потеснен.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 30, 13.10.2006)

“Русский язык пережил искус "онемечивания" при Петре, "офранцуживания" - в XIX веке. Еще раньше предки наши "на мельнице русской смолоты заезжий татарский язык" (Ярослав Смеляков). Ныне он подвергается интервенции англоязычных слов, засоряется пустоцветами канцелярита, его унижает словами-уродцами "феня".” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 6, 02.03.1996)

“Порча русского языка по существу началась ... с петровских времен. Засорение русского языка волнами накатывалось на страну: петровские реформы, Октябрьская революция, нынешние <демократические> преобразования...” (Pravda 2, 27.01.1999)

The situation is constructed as a threat by using negative words (значительно потеснен, унижает) and metaphors of dirt and military action (засоряется, интервенции). The Petrine time is seen as a key time when the problems originated (по существу началась). The examples portray the situation as a cumulative series. The process of borrowing, described as having begun at Peter the Great's time, has continued throughout in waves and has now reached maximum intensity. The device of listing is used to strengthen the sense of a coherent and consistent flow of similar periods with similar language: “петровские реформы, Октябрьская революция, нынешние <демократические> преобразования ...”. The linear development is also achieved with temporal lexical devices (“при Петре... в XIX веке... Еще раньше”). The fact that democratic developments in the example are hedged with ironising quotation marks reveals that freedom of expression and changing of norms are considered negative in this example. So, not only can the Petrine era serve as reassurance that the situation will be resolved, but it can also be used as proof of intensifying danger. The following example shows the intensifying strategies:

“За прошедшие 15-20 лет экспансия иноязычной лексики оказалась многократно большей степени, чем во времена Петровских реформ. ... Позже, в начале XIX века, Шишков ... предлагал слово "кий" заменить словом "шаротык", а калоши - "мокроступами". Попытка была неудачной, но обеспокоенность понятна. В сегодняшней же России языковой экспансии не сопротивляется никто. Калеча язык, вы утрачиваете национальную систему ценностей, ориентиров.” (Izvestiia 11, 01.11.2006)

Again, the device of listing creates intensity (“За прошедшие 15-20 лет ... Позже, в начале XIX века”). However, here purist action of the 19th century is defended. The ‘understandable’, if unsuccessful actions of Shishkov are compared with today's deplorable situation, without any initiatives to resist (В сегодняшней же России языковой экспансии не сопротивляется никто). This setting up of Shishkov's action as normal and understandable constitutes a naturalisation of linguistic purism. A break with tradition is created, juxtaposing admirable past action with today's inaction. Historical precedents are strategically used in the argument to prove or disprove the existence of danger in present times. The historical events can be used to suit the argument either way. The argumentation strategy of citing historical precedents constructs a continuity of developments over several centuries. This

continuity contributes to a mystified image of Russian as a great and unchanged tradition that is now being mistreated and at risk of unspecified danger. The next section shows how the language is mystified with the help of literature.

3.2.1.2. Great Russian literature as role model

Citing key literary figures in language debates is a common method of mystification, associating language with a great tradition and styling it as a precious inheritance. The myth spread in such arguments is that the language “has been built up over the generations, not by the millions of native speakers, but by a select few who have lavished loving care upon it ... (often these are thought to be literary figures, such as Shakespeare)”. (Milroy 2001: 537) The Russian metadiscourse makes use of such literary figures, either to warn speakers of transgression or to prove that the Russian language is great enough to survive threat.

Topos ‘language of famous author’

Themes of literature are integrated into the debate in various ways. Great Russian literary authors are a vital source of authority and mystification in the language debate. The topos of ‘language of [major author]’ automatically endows the language with importance and emotional significance. The language of the old masters is praised in comparison with today’s language and today’s literature. The following is a comparison between literature then and now:

“По сравнению с художественной литературой XIX – начала XX века, современные писатели, стремясь достигнуть максимальной выразительности, зачастую нарушают языковую норму, балансируя между иноязычными заимствованиями, сленгом и матом.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 30, 13.10.2006)

Contemporary authors destroy the language norms by trying to attain maximum expressiveness. The comparison combined with saying that the current writers destroy the norms (нарушают языковую норму) portrays the situation as very negative.

In other instances, Russian is called the language of Dostoyevsky or Pushkin, a great language that can deal with the foreignisms, but must be respected.

“Увы, искать русские эквиваленты заполняющим языковое пространство американизмам - дело не из легких, поэтому будем лелеять надежду, что язык Гоголя и Достоевского переварит "мерчиндайзеров" и "промоутеров" с той же легкостью, с какой он проделал это с "директором" и "редактором".” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 3, 07.10.1995)

The sense that language is great and sacrosanct is achieved by using the authority figures of Gogol and Dostoyevsky. The mentioning of classical authors of the literary canon constructs language as immutable, as if it had not changed since their time. This mystifies Russian further and also suggests that the language belongs to great writers or is created by them, and that ordinary speakers have little say in how the language is to be used today.

Evoking the authority of Alexander Pushkin

The mythical construction of Alexander Pushkin is a vital element in the linking between literature and language. The significance allotted to Alexander Pushkin within Russian literature and Russian culture in general can hardly be exaggerated; his status as national poet has long been established. This Pushkin myth has been transposed seamlessly into contemporary linguistic culture (Ryazanova-Clarke 2006a: 49f). Comparisons with Pushkin have become a fixed ingredient of discourse on foreignisms in the Russian, as the following examples show:

“К тому же, как заметил еще Пушкин, русский язык снисходителен к чужим словам, "переимчив и общителен", способен принять многое, сохраняя самого себя.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 14, 04.12.1997)
“Что-то критики англицизмов подзабыли Пушкина с его галлицизмами и с бурей негодования, ими вызванного.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 6, 02.03.1996)

Pushkin has himself written on language and foreignisms in his works, e.g. in *Evgenii Onegin*, and his words are often quoted, as above (как заметил еще Пушкин). Equally, much of the discourse reminds readers that at Pushkin's time, the Russian language contained many French loanwords, used by Pushkin himself

(критики англицизмов подзабыли Пушкина с его галлицизмами), and that his language is nevertheless revered. The figure of Pushkin serves as a mythological authority who can justify any argument, by being instrumentalised in many different ways.

Classic authors' words on language

Classical authors' words carry prestige and authority, and have been quoted widely even in Russian academic works, especially in Soviet times, sometimes by giving whole lists of quotations on language (e.g. Yakovlev, 1976: 53). The authority of famous authors on matters of language is underscored by quoting their writings or sayings about language. In the next example, Bunin's verses are quoted:

“Умейте же беречь/ Хоть в меру сил, в дни злобы / и страдания, / Наш дар бессмертный — речь.” (Pravda 3, 30.06.2000)

As with any quotations, the words of classical authors are susceptible to being quoted out of context, misquoted or framed differently. The article with the Bunin quotation also features a quotation from Anna Akhmatova's 1942 poem “Мужество”:
Сохраним тебя, русская речь (Pravda 3, 30.06.2000, Pravda 4, 05.02.2004). In this case, strategies of transformation are used. Akhmatova's poem concerns courage and endurance during the Second World War. The quoted line is here transformed, by removing it from a poem about direct, concrete and gravest danger, into a general statement on language. This reworking of a famous poem about a traumatic shared experience immediately associates language issues with national security, an argument that concerns much more than language alone.

The trope ‘великий и могучий’

The stereotypical description of Russian ‘великий и могучий’ is a common way of framing language, quoting Turgenev's assertion that the great and mighty, free Russian language must have been given to a great people:

Во дни сомнений, во дни тягостных раздумий о судьбах моей родины,- ты один мне поддержка и опора, о великий, могучий, правдивый и свободный русский язык! Не будь тебя - как не впасть в отчаяние при виде всего, что совершается дома? Но нельзя верить, чтобы такой язык не был дан великому народу! (1882)

However, this phrase is often used for the Russian language in an ironic context (as for example in one text sample below – “Тоже, говорю, бабки налом брали с газет за порчу велико-могучего” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 5, 24.02.1996), see also Gorham 2009: 172). Nevertheless it reinforces the idea that literary authors are important sources of wisdom on language.

The topos of literary authors automatically elevates the language, as old writers are used as a rhetorical weapon against new ones. Evoking literary authors from the canon of classical Russian literature functions as a justification for the argument the author puts forward, whether they argue that Russian must be respected, or that Russian can easily accommodate foreignisms, or that it is a mighty language able to survive any outside influence. Citing literary authors can thus either contribute to arguments of threat (Russian is in grave danger and needs help), or mitigate danger (Russian is mighty and survives anything).

3.2.1.3. The sanctity of Russian

The construction of Russian as a sacred entity endorsed by religious themes supports strategies of mystification. In order to prove the high, untouchable status of Russian and the need to respect the language, religious motifs are used in combination with the creation myth of the Russian alphabet, devised by saints Cyril and Methodius.

“Применяя иностранные слова, не стоило заниматься порчей языка. Великий и могучий Алфавит, подаренный нам славянскими святыми Кириллом и Мефодием, принесен в жертву кумиру золотого тельца.” (Literaturnaia Gazeta 12, 24.02.2005)

”Нельзя не вспомнить евангельское: “В начале было Слово”. Но Слово и в конце: погибает язык — погибает народ.” (Pravda 5, 12.02.2004)

“Русский язык пережил искуc "онемечивания" при Петре.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 6, 02.03.1996)

The alphabet, capitalised for importance, is combined with Turgenev's famous words about the Russian language, lending extra credibility (Великий и могучий Алфавит). As mentioned above, the Turgenev phrase can be used ironically, here this is not the case. The alphabet is sacrificed to the golden calf (принесен в жертву кумиру золотого тельца), the passive construction not revealing who sacrifices it. The saints are qualified as Slavic saints who gave 'us', the in-group of all speakers, the alphabet. Speakers, made passive recipients of this heritage, must not be ungrateful and mistreat it. The second example is citing the first sentence of the book of Genesis. Elsewhere, biblical language is used ('искус'), introducing both a moral dimension and a note of timeless historicity to the argument. The metaphors of religion, and also the argument of the sanctity of language, draw on common cultural knowledge of the influence and nature of religion, and lend religious, holy qualities to language by association.

3.2.1.4. Agency of language

The mystification of language crucially depends on the construction of language as an independent agent. Language as independent agent is a crucial component of metaphor scenarios of language change, where language is constructed as a person, or a human body, or a self-regulating ecosystem that takes care of itself and can fend off illnesses (anglicisms) (see chapter 4, 2.1.4.). But not only metaphors are used to emphasise the agency of language. Agency can be achieved by grammatical means, especially in combination with metaphors, as well as backgrounding speakers or casting them in negative roles.

Grammatical agency and social actors

In his research on social actors, van Leeuwen (1996) examines the mechanisms used to foreground actors or push them into the background: "Representations include or exclude social actors to suit their interests and purposes in relation to the readers for whom they are intended. Some of the representations may be 'innocent', details which readers are assumed to know already, or which are deemed irrelevant to them, other tie in close to the propaganda strategy of creating fear." (1996: 38) Van

Leeuwen is quick to point out that grammatical agency is by far not the only indicator of what actors are backgrounded or portrayed as active. Other contextual factors contribute to activation or passivisation. The use of passive voice, for example, is not always an indicator of backgrounding of agents – sometimes the agent is obvious, was just mentioned, or it is used in a construction where the active voice would sound clumsy (von Seth 2011: 16). Van Leeuwen shows that passive constructions or nominalisations can still present a grammatical non-subject as the agent by prepositional constructions (e.g. ‘from’). Many constructions can be used to give social actors a passive or active role: “This may be realised by grammatical participant roles, by transitivity structures in which activated social actors are coded as Actor in material processes, Sayer in verbal processes or Assigner in relational processes.” (Van Leeuwen 1996: 43f)

In an examination of grammatical agency, we find that language is personified by being portrayed as a separate entity that decides its own fate:

“Безусловно, язык чутко реагирует на социальные и политические изменения, господствующую идеологию, вообще говоря, это превосходный инструмент для манипуляций и внушения.” (Izvestiia 14, 07.08.2007)

“русский язык снисходителен к чужим словам” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 14, 04.12.1997)

“Нельзя сказать, что "великий и могучий" с радостью принял новичка: за сто с лишком лет глагол "стушеваться" практически "стушевался" с книжных страниц. Язык, в конце концов, сам решает, какому своему гражданину жить полнокровно.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 6, 02.03.1996)

“Будучи свободным, русский язык открывает свободный путь для иноязычных слов.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 12, 05.07.1997)

Language is portrayed as condescending (русский язык снисходителен), freely deciding (Будучи свободным, русский язык открывает свободный путь), active (язык чутко реагирует) and able to feel joy (Нельзя сказать, что "великий и могучий" с радостью принял новичка). Language is thus portrayed again as a person, lexically and through metaphor. This combination strongly emphasizes the autonomous, strong character of language.

Topos of ingratitude towards the Great Tradition

Speakers, on the other hand, are portrayed as not deserving the Great Tradition, as they misuse it. More will be said about speakers further below in the section on speakers, here only the topos of ingratitude towards the Great Tradition is examined:

“Защищать язык нужно от нас самих, неправильно произносящих слова и пишущих зачастую с ошибками.” (Izvestiia 13, 17.05.2007)

“Однако в удручающем состоянии находится не сам язык - ... а мы, его носители, те, кто этим языком сегодня пользуется... И не язык сегодня жалок и беспомощен, а мы - нерадивые его наследники, не способные оценить то, что имеем в своем распоряжении.” (Argumenty i Fakty 2, 04.02.2004)

In this example, all speakers are included in the group to blame for negative developments. A dichotomy between a pure, unblemished language and slovenly disrespectful speakers making mistakes is set up. Parallel constructions are used: “Однако... не сам язык - ... а мы, ... не язык..., а мы.” Language, a complete, perfect, autonomous entity, is misused by the ungrateful speakers. Language must be protected from ‘us’, the in-group of speakers (мы - нерадивые его наследники). The use of the first person pronoun conveys universality and common responsibility, whereas the word наследники constructs speakers as subordinate to language; the allusion to child-parent relationships or succession evoking a clear hierarchy not only of time, but also of authority – the language is portrayed to have been there first, in perfect condition, only to be ruined by disregardful speakers. In much of the discourse, the speakers themselves are credited with ruining or harming it, for example by laziness (see below, 3.4.3.2.).

In sum, language is mystified by the creation of a timeline that gives a picture of a complete tradition, which includes topoi of history as a teacher, and the evocation of literary authors. Interestingly, although the discourse on foreignisms invokes the Great Tradition, and the topos of history as a teacher for today, key periods are left out. Especially the twentieth century is curiously absent in these discussions, apart from occasional mentions of *novoiaz* and bureaucratic language (Ryazanova-Clarke 2006a: 50). Thus, the tradition of a beautiful, mighty language is portrayed as unbroken. The mention of only some historical periods while ignoring others re-

contextualises them to create continuity with the present days. Thus, authenticity and community is constructed by creating a seamless narrative (Gal & Woolard 1995: 135). Mystification is also achieved by portraying language as a separate, active entity, which suggests that speakers ultimately cannot change language. Yet, their actions constitute a threat towards language. This contradiction is linked to overall discourses of threat and simultaneous diffusing of the threat (see below, 3.3.2).

3.2.2. Construction of a link between language and nation

The mystification of language is closely connected to the linking of language and society in the discourse, a vital component of metalinguistic debates. Language matters are connected to the mentality of the nation, national values and the wellbeing of society. Perceived social problems are linked directly with a notion of unruly language. By parallel constructions, naming language the mirror of society and linking it with the notion of national independence, this connection is naturalised and phrased in terms requiring urgent action.

3.2.2.1. Societal upheaval equated with unruly language

Parallel constructions

Russian is directly linked to the condition of society, in a metonymic connection where the Russian language stands for the country:

“Состояние русского языка - это состояние российского общества”
(Izvestiia 4, 16.11.2000)

“Говорят: какова жизнь, такой и язык.” (Rossiiskaia Gazeta 10, 04.01.2003)

“Язык - лишь отражение процессов, переживаемых обществом, он элемент структуры, раньше других оповещающий о ее расстройстве.”
(Nezavisimaia Gazeta 23, 30.06.2000)

“Язык, его правила отражают ситуацию в социуме, в обществе.”
(Moskovskie Novosti 8, 11.08.2006)

Texts equate language and society directly with the use of parallel structures (“Состояние ... - это состояние”). Common knowledge is given as presupposed by the metadiscursive framing “Говорят”, rendering the statement as accepted fact.

Establishing this parallel between language and society adds more urgency to the portrayal of the language issue and justifies the need to change the situation, which is perceived as negative. At the same time, the parallels and influencing processes are phrased in abstract terms (отражение процессов, элемент структуры, расстройстве), presupposing that details are not necessary because this process is self-evident.

Metaphors: Language as the mirror of society, language illnesses

Language is also called the mirror of society, in a construction that is not a direct equation but sets up the language as a gauge of the ills of society. The mirror metaphor also occurs together with the illness metaphor.

“язык - зеркало общества. А так как общество было разбалансировано, социально не обустроено, были нарушены морально-этические ценности, язык стал неуправляемым. ... Общество глубоко больно, и эта болезнь, раковые метастазы, дошла и до нашей речи.” (Izvestiia 9, 09.09.2003)
“Язык - зеркало состояния, в котором находится народ. И если болен язык, значит больно общество.” (Rossiiskaia Gazeta 11, 12.02.2003)
“Болезни языка, безусловно, связаны с болезнями общества.” (Pravda 3, 30.06.2000)

Metaphors of illness of language and illness of society contribute to the notion of language as vulnerable, and that its condition is flawed and must be healed. Also, with the example of cancer metastases the language is constructed as an organ of the body (эта болезнь, раковые метастазы, дошла и до нашей речи), a vital organ of the body of society. It is inferred that if this organ is not in a healthy state (i.e. the status quo preserved), the state cannot function. In stating that social processes are reflected in language, authors concede that language behaviour does change – however, the changes are deviations from the Great Tradition (see above) and constructed metaphorically and linguistically as negative.

3.2.2.2. *Language and national identity*

Warning strategies are employed, threatening that without language in a better ‘state’, the nation will lose orientation or independence. Russia, under the influence

of too many foreign words, cannot be independent, as if Russians belonged to a different nation.

Causal link

In the following examples, a causal link between the notion of language deterioration and problems of nationhood is set up:

Свобода слова и поступка, к сожалению, механически была перенесена и на язык - зеркало общества. А так как общество было разбалансировано, социально не обустроено, были нарушены морально-этические ценности, язык стал неуправляемым. (Izvestiia 9, 09.09.2003)
“Если общество и государство находятся под иностранным духовным прессом, допускают засилье чужеземного языка, то человек не может быть свободен, а государство - независимым.” (Rossiiskaia Gazeta 18, 25.05.2006)

The first example links new post-Soviet linguistic freedoms with a decline in language standards. Society is portrayed out of balance, moral values destroyed, giving a grave picture of the situation. Language, in this example, is described as ungoverned (неуправляемым), recalling also Putin rhetoric of the need for a governed democracy. The metadiscourse also considers language to influence society.

The causal process is made obvious by the constructions *приводит к* and *если... ,то*. These lexical markers signal the certainty of the connection. The language situation is constructed as dangerous by metaphors (*засилье*) with strong effects on the country and people. Key positive concepts like freedom and independence are threatened. Historical discourses of threat from outside, and keeping an independent unity against aggressors, are activated and constitute a powerful argument in favour of strong language policy.

Suggestive scenarios

Suggestive scenarios are used in the discourse to show the harmful potential of language change.

“Еще режет глаз, что родная питерская улица все навязчивее общается с нами на чужом языке. Словно бы город сменил свою национальную ориентацию.” (Izvestiia 2, 27.08.1998)

“Такое изобилие иностранных слов действует на психологию людей. Если говорить упрощенно - это приглушает ощущение национальной принадлежности. Будто мы уже и не россияне, а принадлежим неизвестно какому миру.” (Rossiiskaia Gazeta 1, 19.01.1996)

The country and people are portrayed as already losing orientation (“Словно бы город сменил свою национальную ориентацию”, “Будто мы уже и не россияне”). Language change is equated with grave danger to national integrity and the psyche of the people. This very negative portrayal of language change endows processes of linguistic change with emotional significance, as identity comes under threat, and provokes an immediate negative response to language change. Similar argumentation was observed in Sweden by Milani, who detects that in the discourse “‘good’ Swedish is implicitly reinstated as the only possible symbol of national unity, while, conversely, multilingualism and hybridity in the form of non-standard language varieties are viewed as centrifugal forces threatening such unity”. (Milani 2007:113) Language change, in such discourse, is portrayed as tantamount to disintegration of the nation.

Protecting the language – protecting the nation

Changes in the language are portrayed as threatening national unity and stability. Language and country are directly linked, the pollution of language rolled over the country (“Засорение русского языка волнами накатывалось на страну”, Pravda 2, 27.01.1999) – not over the language. Metaphors of natural phenomena (water, flood) and fight are combined frequently in the discourse, as chapter 4 (3.4.1.) showed. This combination describes something harmful and unstoppable threatening to overwhelm the language. Care for the language is equated with care for the nation:

“... движение по защите русского языка от засорения его англицизмами, жаргонизмами, включая и лексику уголовного мира. Это будет и движение в защиту нашей традиционной трехчленной антропонимической модели (фамилия - имя - отчество), то есть в защиту русского менталитета.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 13, 11.10.1997)

“В сегодняшней же России языковой экспансии не сопротивляется никто. Калеча язык, вы утрачиваете национальную систему ценностей, ориентиров. ... Сохраняя язык, мы сохраняем свою национальную систему ценностей. Скажем, в английском языке нет понятия "совесть", а в русском оно одно из важнейших...” (Izvestiia 11, 01.11.2006)

The debate on language and national values places special emphasis on the link between language and the Russian mentality. Russian mentality and language are directly equated; this link means that language can provide a gateway for destructive elements threatening national values. Thus, the threat of language change is intensified. The metaphor of mutilation constructs great danger. This example also contains an opposition between ‘you’ – who will lose the national system of values and orientations by destroying language – and ‘us’. The in-group is here linked with conserving the language and thus the national system of values. This device is usual in banal nationalist discourse, leaving deliberately vague who ‘we’ are: thus, ‘we’ can become ‘all reasonable people’ (Wodak 2007: 660). An out-group of bad speakers and an in-group of good speakers are juxtaposed. Suggesting the lack of an English understanding for “совесть” (a statement of questionable veracity) serves as justification for the importance of preserving Russian words. The condition of society and language is linked in the discourse, stating that if the language suffers problems, the society in general will be impacted too.

By mystification strategies, constructing language as an independent agent and the direct linking of the condition of language with the condition and welfare of society and citizens, language issues are made central to concerns of the nation. Calling upon a collective memory of the language tradition is crucial in this process. Gronbeck (1998: 58) states that “collective memory is an evoking of a past to frame a present but also to conform that past to the present” – past and present interact in the constructed space. This constructed space does not conform to actual facts. For example, as seen above, the selective use of historical periods, deleting those not fitting in with the narrative of the Great Russian Tradition is such a construction. The language thus becomes a mystified object that must be venerated and guarded against detrimental changes. The discursive construction of these changes will be examined next.

3.3. The construction of anglicisms and language change

The discursive construction of language change and anglicisms is of course central to the analysis of this metadiscourse. The rejection of language change is justified in a variety of different arguments, all invoking the authority of commonsense. Threat caused by anglicisms is related by a variety of arguments: lack of intelligibility, disappearance of Russian, proliferation of foreign ideas, and the disintegration of national values. However, a different argument employs mitigation, by trivialising the influence of anglicisms. The overarching argumentation of commonsense supports the findings of Bourdieu (see chapter 1. 3.3.) that linguistic dominance is achieved subtly, by making the standard seem like the best and easily made choice on rational and logical grounds. Similarly, Schiffman's studies of linguistic culture and the theories of metadiscourse (chapter 1, 5.1.) show that argumentation about language is successful when grounded in commonly held assumptions and building on cultural knowledge about the character of language. The following table summarises what argumentative strategies, all supported by commonsense themes, were found in characterisations of anglicisms and language change.

Table 14: Constructing language change

Strategy	Topoi/ argumentation	Examples
Justification, construction of authority	Categorisation of language change in positive and negative	<p>Topos 'yes, but' ("Мы вполне разделяем тревогу ... Но, с другой стороны..." "не означает, что ..., однако", "это нормально. Но...")</p> <p>Topos of 'all in good measure' ("В чем же тогда состоит проблема? В мере." "Но во всем должны быть логика, здравый смысл, чувство меры", scientific terms "критической точки", "элементы системообразующие"</p> <p>Equivalence (rhetorical questions, "Но зачем нам 'консенсус'", когда есть 'согласие'", "иноязычные эквиваленты порождают свои гнезда", "иноязычные термины выигрывают перед своими русскими аналогами</p>
Construction of threat	Lack of intelligibility	<p>comparative ("стремительно становится все труднее")</p> <p>topos of hard data ("не понимает в 99 процентах")</p> <p>topos of family relations ("у дедушек фактически нет единого коммуникационного канала с внуками")</p> <p>topos of national language for nation ("часто не понимают своих соотечественников")</p>
	Disappearance of Russian	<p>topos of hard data ("превышает 2-3%")</p> <p>unspecific time marker ("Через какое-то время")</p> <p>scientific objectivity ("лингвисты уверенно прогнозируют очень скорое ИСЧЕЗНОВЕНИЕ языка")</p> <p>topos of 'or else' ("Надо срочно что-то делать иначе")</p>
	Proliferation of Foreign (Western) ideas	<p>metaphor ("с ними к нам проникали крамольные идеи", "С вторжением инородных пластов (от англо-американизмов до жаргона) в литературную речь меняется и менталитет", "поражены бациллой низкопоклонства перед Западом")</p> <p>key words ("унижают душу болгарина,</p>

	National identity/values /security at risk	<p>растаптывают древнюю историю славянской православной страны”)</p> <p>Distancing, lexicalisation, topos of ‘ancient culture’ (“Так называемая массовая западная культура, а точнее, бескультурие, вытесняет прекрасные народные песни и танцы, русские песни, так любимые болгарским народом”)</p> <p>Antimiranda (“Запад не стесняется демонстрировать свое уродливое лицо”)</p> <p>antimiranda (“агрессивная экспансия иноязычных слов”)</p> <p>metaphor (“волнами накатывалось на страну”)</p> <p>addressing readers, emphasis (“Калеча язык, вы утрачиваете национальную систему ценностей”)</p> <p>parallel construction (“Сохраняя язык, мы сохраняем свою национальную систему ценностей”)</p> <p>listing (“значительно увеличивается и осложняет процессы социального, политического строительства, обостряет внутриобщественные конфликты, наконец, мешает элементарному взаимопониманию”)</p>
--	--	---

The overall argumentation is of threat – threat to intelligibility of Russian, threat to national values and security, and threat to the existence of Russian itself. At the same time, justification strategies are at work when the metadiscourse categorises borrowings in good or bad, as the authors can prove themselves not to be purist and categorically object to foreign influence. As well, this strategy suggests that categorisation into useful or not useful borrowings is straightforward and can be made according to objective categories. Language change is overall portrayed as a potentially threatening process that must be ruled and moderated by those who have authority to do so.

3.3.1. Justification

3.3.1.1. *Categorisation of language change in positive and negative*

Language change and anglicisms are neither accepted wholesale nor rejected completely in the discourse. Instead, the discourse divides anglicisms and changes into acceptable and unacceptable, stressing the need for conformation with linguistic norms. Topoi of ‘yes, but’ and ‘everything in good measure’ are used to convince readers that there are clearly delineated borders between positive and negative borrowings. Also, these topoi serve to reinforce commonsense argumentation by portraying the sender of the message as moderate and accepting language change in principle.

The Topoi ‘yes, but’ and ‘all in good measure’

The topoi ‘yes, but’ and ‘all in good measure’ uses commonsense argumentation, conceding that although a situation is acceptable in principle, the process of language change has spun out of control and must be regulated. The following example features the ‘yes, but’ topos that makes the constructed group of speakers sound reasonable:

“Мы вполне разделяем тревогу классика по поводу засорения родного языка невыносимыми англицизмами типа "уик-энд", "брифинг", "имидж" и т. д. Но, с другой стороны, считаем, что в нынешней литературной ситуации процесс этот практически неизбежен.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 5, 24.02.1996)

The anglicisms are referentially qualified as unbearable (невыносимыми), and the empathy of the authors emphasized (Мы вполне разделяем тревогу), but in the following sentence the process is called practically inescapable (практически неизбежен). Here, the topos of ‘yes, but’ is given by the contrast (Но, с другой стороны...) demonstrating that both sides of the argument have been given consideration, but a sensible middle ground is all that can be hoped for. It is noteworthy that this article from 1996 deplores the use of anglicisms that do not feature in later metadiscourse, as they have become accepted more widely (e.g.

имидж). The topos of ‘all in good measure’ can be reinforced either by positively connoted words or antimiranda, as the next examples show:

“Живой язык не может не заимствовать. В чем же тогда состоит проблема? В мере. Важно, чтобы количество новых элементов не превышало критической точки, чтобы они не подавили элементы системообразующие.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 32, 14.01.2009)

“Любой язык изменяется, обновляется, обогащается. Но во всем должны быть логика, здравый смысл, чувство меры.” (Argumenty i Fakty 3, 25th June 2003)

“Русский язык изменяется со временем независимо от нашего желания, как и все другие языки, просто потому, что мы живем в меняющемся мире и язык должен эти изменения отражать.” (Izvestiia 5, 11.08.2001)

The topos of ‘yes, but’ is underlined by question and answer (В чем же тогда состоит проблема? В мере.). Using the question-and-answer device constructs a dialogue with the author explaining to the reader. The justification of the argument is given in technical terms: a critical point must not be reached, so as not to jeopardize the system (превышало критической точки, чтобы они не подавили элементы системообразующие). Pseudo-scientific language (количество новых элементов не превышало критической точки) intensifies the point and clarifies why there must be a good measure – because otherwise the system itself is at risk. Negatively connoted words (проблема, критической точки, подавили) reinforce the sense of danger from too many anglicisms. Positive words also support the ‘all in good measure’ topos. The combination of positive concepts (обновляется, обогащается, логика, здравый смысл) justifies the measures demanded by the discourse as positive action.

The discourse uses the topos of ‘yes, but’ to construct a picture of mild reasonableness and commonsense. It is conceded that the language must change, but there has to be a measure, and the process must be governed by logic and common sense. This sensible language change takes place without speaker influence (изменяется со временем независимо от нашего желания) and is justified because language must reflect social changes. The logical, sensible nature of this statement is emphasised by qualifying the argument with просто. Reasonable treatment of anglicisms is advocated:

“Все это не означает, что иноязычные слова должны быть изгнаны с газетных полос, однако если смысл их неясен даже самим авторам, когда ими маскируют незнание своего собственного языка - может от них стоит отказаться.”

“ЕСЛИ в русский язык проникают иностранные названия бытовой техники или экономических процессов (дефолт), это нормально. Но когда заимствуют ругательства - это действительно знак беды.” (Argumenty i Fakty 4, 04.02. 2004)

The topos of ‘yes, but’ is used (не означает, что ..., однако ...), demonstrating that no categorical measures are demanded, merely commonsense linguistic behaviour. The agents of the linguistic processes are deleted (иноязычные слова должны быть изгнаны с газетных полос). The argument that swearwords should not be borrowed, but technical terms of foreign origin are acceptable, uses the topos of ‘all in good measure’. The argument that borrowing swearwords is a sign of paucity is underscored by действительно, giving the argument certainty. Parallel conditional constructions are used to juxtapose what is acceptable (foreign names of realia and economic processes) and what is not (borrowed swearwords): “ЕСЛИ ..., это ... Но когда ... - это”. Consequently, the commonsense argumentation is easily acceptable to the reader.

Equivalence

The border between acceptable and unacceptable loanwords is often drawn with the help of equivalence. In metadiscourse, borrowed terms considered to have an equivalent form in Russian are usually classed as superfluous. Despite the accepted view that linguistic equivalence is a notoriously contested issue – strictly speaking no two words mean the same – the notion of equivalence is used widely in the discourse. The notion of equivalence is here borrowed from linguistic scholarship and reinterpreted in folklinguistic discourse that diverges from academic linguistic discourse.

“вводятся иноязычные слова, имеющие приемлемый русский эквивалент” (Izvestiia 5, 11.08.2001)

“большинство заимствований у нас, паразитируя в синонимическом ряду с традиционными русскими аналогами, как новоявленный "кастинг" с исконным нашим "отбором", ...” (Literaturnaia Gazeta 22, 14.05.2008)

“иноязычные термины выигрывают перед своими русскими аналогами, поскольку они, как правило, однозначны, а русские эквиваленты уже отягощены добавочными значениями” (Rossiiskaia Gazeta 24, 24.11.2006)
“Конечно, при нынешнем расширении заграничных связей неизбежно появление иноязычных слов ... Но зачем нам “консенсус”, когда есть “согласие”, зачем “секвестровать”, если можно по-русски “сократить” (Pravda 3, 30.06.2000)

Using the idea of equivalence, the discourse clearly employs commonsense argumentation: If there already is a word, and a Russian word at that, why borrow another one unnecessarily? (зачем нам “консенсус”, когда есть “согласие”?) The topos of ‘yes, but’ is used frequently when equivalence is debated, either to justify the existence or argue for the avoidance of specific words (Конечно, ... Но зачем нам...; это естественно. Другое дело, что...). Referential strategies are implemented by negatively connoted words and metaphors, e.g. equating the anglicisms with parasites (паразитируя). Russian words are called traditional (в синонимическом ряду с традиционными русскими аналогами), underscored by the possessive (исконным нашим). As a result, the process of borrowing is divided into good and bad borrowing. The non-permissible borrowing is described to have a harmful effect on the national heritage. ‘заграничных связей’ evokes Soviet discourse, constructing continuity of those times with present day processes. Pseudolinguistic constructions (‘в синонимическом ряду’) add authority to the argument. Commonsense argumentation and rhetorical questions ensure that the argument does not appear overly purist, but as reasonable advice that any reader can comprehend and agree with.

3.3.2. Construction of threat

The discourse constructs language change as negative by using arguments of threats that language change could or already does pose dangers. At the same time, however, the threats are mitigated or left unspecified. The discourse is divided on whether current developments in the Russian language constitute a threat or are harmless. This dichotomy is not resolved in the discourse. Threat is constructed by the arguments that language change will have negative consequences: a lack of

intelligibility, the disappearance of Russian, the proliferation of foreign (i.e. Western) ideas, the disintegration of national identity and values.

3.3.2.1. Lack of intelligibility

Intelligibility is a major theme in the discourse on foreignisms. Language is portrayed as a handy tool for communication between people, helping to understand one another perfectly. Fear that speakers will no longer understand each other and communication will cease is expressed in many of the texts. The danger of lack of understanding is supported by comparative constructions, and topoi of hard data, family relations, and national language for the nation:

“наш с вами "великий и могучий" стремительно становится все труднее для понимания.” (Argumenty i Fakty 4, 04.02. 2004)

“Люди, продолжающие говорить на "архаичном" русском языке, часто не понимают своих соотечественников.” (Argumenty i Fakty 3, 25.06. 2003)

“Язык меняется с такой скоростью, что у дедушек фактически нет единого коммуникационного канала с внуками.” (Moskovskie Novosti 8, 11.08.2006)

“Я думаю, автор не очень понимает, что такое сиквел и что такое саспенс. А рядовой читатель этого не понимает в 99 процентах.” (Izvestia 9, 09.09.2003)

“Лингвистический невроз приводит к потере ориентиров в общении.” (Moskovskie Novosti 8, 11.08.2006)

The language is described as becoming harder to understand (стремительно становится все труднее для понимания). The description of the process is intensified by стремительно and constructed as an agent-less, unstoppable process (стремительно становится). The comparative, together with все, signals that the process is not going to have an endpoint, but continue indefinitely. The language is here also called just наш с вами "великий и могучий", in a conversational tone that recalls the Turgenev aphorism and also constructs the writer and audience as a unified group. Linguistic change is glossed as neurosis, leading to a loss of orientation. The combination of all these factors creates a notion of a miserable fate that has befallen everyone – the language has been made harder to understand by people who are not mentioned, a threat from outside.

These texts express fears of exclusion, that an inside group of people speaking the new language will shut off others from communication. The topos of family relations shows the severity of the situation as communication between members of a family breaks down (у дедушек фактически нет единого коммуникационного канала с внуками). The family is here portrayed as the unit of social cohesion, the foundation of society. Also communication with one's countrymen is emphasized (часто не понимают своих соотечественников), evoking again the link between national community and the need for communication, as already seen in the nationalist tradition of language originating in the 19th century (see introduction).

The urgency of misunderstanding is underscored by the topos of hard data (рядовой читатель этого не понимает в 99 процентах). Thus the potential misunderstanding and lack of communicative channels is painted as a certain, disastrous consequence of language change. Language change is automatically vilified.

Communication disruptions and misunderstandings are also linked to lack of understanding in society, leading to conflict:

“Количество коммуникативных трудностей ... в эпоху подобных динамических сдвигов значительно увеличивается и осложняет процессы социального, политического строительства, обостряет внутриобщественные конфликты, наконец, мешает элементарному взаимопониманию.” (Izvestiia 14, 07.08.2007)

“Язык служит не только средством общения, но и средством построения самого общества, он, как и другие правила поведения в социуме, - предмет общественного договора. Непонимание этих конвенций нарушает коммуникацию и может вызывать конфликты.” (Moskovskie Novosti 8, 11.08.2006)

“Надо четко понимать, что разрушение правил общения на русском языке приводит к нарушению функционирования общества.” (Moskovskie Novosti 8, 11.08.2006)

The argument links language and national communication, equating linguistic breakdown with social communication breakdown. The negative sentiment is emphasised by negative words (трудностей, конфликты, мешает). Abstract, academic language leaves unclear what is meant by Количество коммуникативных трудностей and процессы социального, политического строительства, and does not specify how communication difficulties complicate matters but nevertheless add

emphasis with значительно. Language change and the perceived consequences are described in agent-less terms (Количество коммуникативных трудностей, увеличивается и осложняет процессы социального, политического строительства), and the consequences of the potential non-communication and the nature of conflict and threat are not detailed. In the second example language is described as a tool for communication and society building, this adds to the traditional view of language as a tool for the nation that must be handy and understandable for all and thus standardised.

3.3.2.2. Disappearance of Russian

The discourse on foreignisms also makes claims beyond misunderstanding, arguing that disappearance of the Russian language is imminent. A sense of danger and threat regarding the number of anglicisms in Russian is conveyed by metaphors and other discursive means; this danger is also thematised in the discourse (“не надуманная опасность”, Novaia Gazeta 1, 15.01.2001). The texts portray the linguistic situation as lawless chaos, or warn about the disappearance of language altogether. The argument that Russian is threatened by the possibility of disappearance is supported by the topos of hard data and scientific objectivity, unspecific time markers, and ‘or else’ constructions of vague threat.

“Через какое-то время русский язык может исчезнуть ... Если активно заимствующаяся лексика в языке превышает 2-3%, лингвисты уверенно прогнозируют очень скорое ИСЧЕЗНОВЕНИЕ языка.” (Argumenty i Fakty 4, 04.02.2004)

“Надо срочно что-то делать, иначе мы рискуем потерять наш могучий русский язык.” (Rossiiskaia Gazeta 7, 18.01.2002)

Diffuse threat is constructed by vague temporal markers (Через какое-то время русский язык может исчезнуть) and supported by the topos of hard, reliable data and justification by figures (превышает 2-3%). Linguists are framed by metalanguage constructing their opinions as definite and scientific (лингвисты уверенно прогнозируют). A sense of particular urgency is achieved by capitalising ИСЧЕЗНОВЕНИЕ, and the need for immediate action by the modal construction

(надо срочно). However, the urgency is at the same time unspecific as the modal construction lacks a subject, and what is to be done is described with ‘что-то’. The argument of disappearance is characterised by diffuse threat and vagueness, as it is not possible to predict linguistic development with any certainty. This, however, does not detract from the power of the statement.

3.3.2.3. Proliferation of foreign (Western) ideas

The discourse links language change to influences from the West, stating that foreign ideas enter together with the words. Usually, the Western influence is perceived as negative. The negative image is constructed by metaphors, key words and strategies such as distancing and using the topos of ‘ancient culture’.

Metaphor and key words

“На иностранные заимствования были гонения, но не потому, что они портили русский язык, а потому, что с ними к нам проникали крамольные идеи.” (Literaturnaia Gazeta 18, 13.02.2008)

“Л. А. Путина в своей речи на <круглом столе> говорила о том, что национальный язык хранит национальные смыслы и ценности. С вторжением инородных пластов (от англо-американизмов до жаргона) в литературную речь меняется и менталитет.” (Novaia Gazeta 2, 17.12.2001)
Депутата беспокоит "агрессивная экспансия иноязычных слов.” (Izvestiia 4, 16.11.2000)

Foreign ideas are here directly linked to foreign words. The danger that the discourse ascribes the words is intensified by metaphors of flood and aggression (“С вторжением инородных пластов (от англо-американизмов до жаргона) в литературную речь меняется и менталитет”; “с ними к нам проникали крамольные идеи”). Such examples implicitly assume that the conservation of national values and mentality is desirable; reasons are not given as they are taken to be self-evident. The discourse considers national values and identity at risk from exposure to aggression from foreign lexis, using the war metaphor of expansion (see also chapter 4, 3.3.2.).

Negative Western influence

Renewed contacts with Western countries have been frequently cited as influences on borrowing. The discourse on foreignisms in print media echoes this view, but adds a negative value to these contacts.

“Полагаю, что телеведущие на самом деле интеллигентные люди. В то же время многие из них поражены бациллой низкопоклонства перед Западом.” (Pravda 2, 27.01.1999)

“Заимствование “американского английского” вызвано не только развитием новых технологий, но, прежде всего, тем, что для многих (и не только молодых) США стали культовой страной, образцом экономического благополучия.” (Pravda 4, 05.02.2004)

The influence of the West is put in negative terms; those using Western words are accused of subserviently pandering to the West (поражены бациллой низкопоклонства). By simplifying all foreign words into the one category of ‘Western’ without differentiation, a clear dichotomy between Russia and America is set up. The word ‘низкопоклонства’ is a Sovietism usually mentioned in connection with the West and is historically charged with negative meaning.

Topos of the ‘ancient culture’

The danger of using Western words is described in the following excerpt in relation to Bulgarian. The Bulgarian language is portrayed as in grave danger; Western culture is derided. The topos of ‘ancient culture’ is supported by various other strategies and foregrounding Russian even though the article concerns Bulgaria.

“Обилие латинских букв на вывесках, иностранные слова, произнесенные с экрана, не просто калечат прекрасный древний язык и оскорбляют кириллицу, но унижают душу болгарина, растаптывают древнюю историю славянской православной страны. Так называемая массовая западная культура, а точнее, бескультурье, вытесняет прекрасные народные песни и танцы, русские песни, так любимые болгарским народом. ... Запад не стесняется демонстрировать свое уродливое лицо.” (Pravda 1, 06.05.1997)

The uncultured Western influences, according to the article, denigrate the Bulgarian soul and cast out the Russian songs the Bulgarians love. The harm of foreign words

is underscored by negatively charged predicates (калечат, оскорбляют, унижают, растаптывают, вытесняет). Crippling, offending and denigration of the soul, highly emotive and moralistic terms, paint language change as moral transgression.

Although it is not made clear how the Western culture denigrates Bulgarian, the threat is thus made clearly, describing an ancient tradition of a Slavic, Orthodox country (древнюю историю славянской православной страны). The construction of a pan-Slavic space where the Bulgarian example is relevant and closely linked to Russia reinforces the notion of a large common space, recurring to Soviet discourses. Significantly, the Bulgarian language itself is not mentioned at all, only Russian. Thus this comment is transformed into a statement on the superiority and dominance of Russian. The topos of ‘ancient shared tradition’ (Bulgarians love Russian songs and dances, shared alphabet (кириллица)) obfuscates this hierarchical portrayal.

The arguments supporting threat are using topoi of ‘or else’, of numbers, and the threat that speakers will cease to understand each other and that national values are at risk due to the penetration of foreign ideas with the foreign words. However, the threats are left diffuse. Thus, the discourse highlights the necessity for speakers to adhere to the rules, which are given to them by the elite group.

3.3.3. The framing of anglicisms

The following list sums up the argumentative strategies used to construct anglicisms by lexical means. Table 4 summarises what adjectives they are given, and what verbal constructions involve anglicisms, and how they are nominalised. Several categories of anglicism description were found: firstly describing them neutrally or positively, then the strategy of equivalence, emphasis of quantity, of aggression, and arguments of negatively connoted liberty. As well, other negative description categories were found, but these are not as widespread.

Table 15: Description of anglicisms

Argumentation categories	Examples
Neutral/positive	универсальный англицизм В принципе иноязычные слова - нормальное явление модные американизмы, англицизмы
Equivalence/unnecessary words	необусловленное публичное использование иноязычных слов иноязычные слова, имеющие приемлемый русский эквивалент большинство заимствований у нас, паразитируя... неоправданные иноязычные заимствования немотивированное использование англицизмов Слепое использование англицизмов
Emphasis on quantity	мутная волна американизмов англицизмов больше, чем нужно немыслимое количество англицизмов наплыв англицизмов вторжение иноязычных слов всевозможные англицизмы Приток англицизмов излишне много англицизмов заполняющие языковое пространство американизмы англицизмы, заполонившие наш язык
Aggression	засилье американизмов "вербальная агрессия" иноязычные заимствования, которые, кажется, никак не контролируются нашествие англицизмов со страшной силой вламываются американизмы агрессивная экспансия иноязычных слов иностраннные варваризмы
Negatively connoted liberties	"либерализация" языка вседозволенность демократизация языка максимальное ограничение употребления иноязычных слов неассимилированные иноязычные заимствования
other antimiranda	"вредоносные" англицизмы невыносимые англицизмы искаженные "американизмы" тошнит от англицизмов засорившие язык американизмы

3.3.3.1. Neutral/positive

Firstly, the neutral category features the word anglicism or americanism without any qualification at all. Those examples are widespread, but may be constructed negatively by other linguistic means. When anglicisms are qualified in ways that are not overtly negative, as above (fashionable, in principle normal), negative overtones can still be detected – the term fashionable is widely used derogatorily with regard to the use foreign words (see discussion at 3.4.3.2.). The qualifier ‘in principle’ weakens the normal status of the anglicisms and suggests that it does not apply universally.

3.3.3.2. Equivalence - Quantity

Above (3.3.1.1.), it was shown that the discourse frequently cites the superfluous nature of anglicisms as a reason not to use them, arguing that they have equivalent words in Russian. The category of quantity is related to the notion of equivalence, constructing an image of language as a container of finite dimensions that can only hold a particular quantity of words. The discourse of quantity employs many metaphors that were analysed in chapter 4, such as the metaphors of flooding, filling up space. Also, open statements proclaim that there are too many anglicisms, using qualifiers like больше, чем нужно; немыслимое количество; излишне много; всевозможные. The excessive quantity of anglicisms is considered a given fact that does not warrant explanation. Citing equivalence shows commonsense argumentation, and panic argumentation employed to construct anglicisms negatively – if a space or container is full, yet more is being added, something has to be discarded, and the Russian language is thus under threat.

3.3.3.3. Negative liberties and other moralising categories

The use of anglicisms, and language change in general, are framed by terms like вседозволенность, or "либерализация" in quotation marks, which ironises the term and creates distance:

“Но лингвисты, которых такая "либерализация" языка по идее должна ужасать, сохраняют оптимизм.” (Argumenty i Fakty 1, 27.12.2000)

“Речевая свобода часто подменяется вседозволенностью и стилистической беспринципностью.” (Izvestiia 14, 07.08.2007)

Anglicisms are called not assimilated, and maximum limitation of their use is demanded. Such a theme of liberty and freedom associated with negative consequences argues strongly against the use of anglicisms and introduces themes of statehood and freedom into the debate, possibly echoing Soviet discourse of restrictive control. However, the controlling measures are framed as common sense, it is argued that without such measures the anglicisms will take up all the available space. Other antimiranda and negatively connoted arguments include moralising metaphorical scenarios analysed in chapter 4, such as constructing anglicisms as dirt and pollutants, unbearable, and inducing illness. The next section examines the roles of speakers.

3.4. The construction of speakers

The discourse on foreignisms, as the above examples have already shown, also features those who use the foreignisms: the speakers. In Lippi-Green's framework, speakers of the non-standard variety are threatened with social exclusion, whereas conformers are upheld as positive examples. Table 5 shows how speakers are used in metadiscourse on foreignisms:

Table 16: The construction of speakers

Strategies		Topoi/argumentation	examples
Claiming authority over speakers	Deleting agency of speakers	Agency of language	predication (“русский язык снисходителен», “язык чутко реагирует” “Нельзя сказать, что “великий и могучий” с радостью принял новичка”) (referential, predication “Будучи свободным, русский язык открывает свободный путь”)
		Abstraction	referential (“Организующими речевыми принципами становятся либерализация, де- и реидеологизация языкового употребления, усиление личностного начала”)
	Authority figures	Academic titles and affiliations	“доктор филологических наук, профессор Российского университета дружбы народов, председатель Гильдии лингвистов-экспертов по документационно-информационным спорам и один из авторов книги “Не говори шершавым языком””
		Scientific objectivity	(predication, “лингвисты уверенно прогнозируют”, referential “вербальная агрессия”) Свою позицию группа ученых излагает “это дело специалистов”
		Topos ‘all in it together’	(lexical “настораживает и языковедов”)
		Great task	(parallels with great initiatives of past

			“организовать краткий "ликбез"”)
	France as role model	<p>Russia is lagging behind</p> <p>Sharing information</p> <p>Distancing from France</p>	<p>Temporal markers (“уже десять лет назад”)</p> <p>addressing readers (“вы знаете”)</p> <p>Rhetorical questions (“Надо ли брать французов в пример?” “Может, и нам пора?”)</p> <p>Referential (“чрезмерным консерватизмом и даже шовинизмом” “языковому пуризму, запретам на иноязычные слова”</p>
	Necessity of legal measures	<p>Danger</p> <p>Call to duty</p>	<p>Metaphor (“Всеми силами бороться за чистоту русского языка, в том числе и принятием законов”)</p> <p>repetition (“Необходимо ... Необходим...”)</p> <p>Agent deletion, abstraction (“Необходимо отказываться”)</p> <p>comparison (“по-настоящему цивилизованных, лингвистически просвещённых государствах”)</p> <p>enumeration “следят за правильностью ... выявляют нежелательные ... налагают официальные санкции”)</p> <p>justifying measures - topos of orderliness and tidiness, metaphor Russia = house (“образованные государственные служащие поддерживают "языковой порядок" в</p>

		<p>equating speech behaviour and shortcomings of character</p> <p>Fashion: Stressing the transitory and immoral quality of anglicisms</p>	<p>нигилизма”)</p> <p>lexicalisation (“и малограмотные и необразованные люди, и те, кто считают себя интеллектуалами”, “интеллектуальной лени”, “многие увлечены "американизмами"”)</p> <p>topos of ‘fashions pass’ (“модные американизмы”, “их употребляют ради моды”, “они то входят в моду, то становятся немодными, как тупоносые ботинки”)</p> <p>evoking Soviet concept of fashion metaphor (“болезнь новизны””)</p>
--	--	---	--

The elite speakers claim authority over the rest of the language community. In the foreignism debate, several elements contribute to the construction of speakers: Firstly, authority is claimed over speakers by the deletion of their agency, the use of authority figures, role models, and a desire for legislation of speaker behaviour. Then, the construction of all speakers as one group is achieved by conflation of all speakers, and direct appeals. Non conformers are ridiculed, belittled, or vilified.

3.4.1. Claiming authority over speakers

Authority is claimed over speakers by a variety of means. Either, the speakers are as a group put under the authority of language, the unchangeable, great tradition that must be followed, or certain speakers – the audience of the particular article, a constructed group – is subordinated to authoritative other speakers. The main strategies are deleting agency of speakers, citing authority figures, and by giving the

role model of France and emphasizing the necessity of legal measures. These areas will now be examined in turn.

3.4.1.1. Backgrounding and suppressing the agency of speakers

The method of analysis of social actors developed by Theo van Leeuwen, mentioned above (3.2.1.4.), can be used to examine agency in texts. According to van Leeuwen, “activation occurs when social actors are represented as the active, dynamic forces in an activity, passivisation when they are represented as 'undergoing' the activity, or as being 'at the receiving end of it'.” (1996: 43) These roles can be expressed by grammatical means, or by “transitivity structures in which activated social actors are coded as Actor in material processes, Sayer in verbal processes or Assigner in relational processes” (ibid).

Van Leeuwen distinguishes between processes of backgrounding and suppressing social actors: Suppressed social actors are not mentioned at all, whereas backgrounding means that social actors are mentioned elsewhere in the text or they can be reasonably inferred (1996: 39). The following analysis shows whether speakers are suppressed or backgrounded; the two main strategies detected are grammatical agency and abstraction.

Agency of language

In many texts language as an actor is given grammatical agency – it is portrayed as doing, living and acting. This, of course, means that speakers are suppressed in linguistic processes:

“... Безусловно, язык чутко реагирует на социальные и политические изменения, господствующую идеологию.” (Izvestiia 14, 07.08.2007)

“русский язык снисходителен к чужим словам.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 14, 04.12.1997)

“Нельзя сказать, что "великий и могучий" с радостью принял новичка: за сто с лишком лет глагол "стушеваться" практически "стушевался" с книжных страниц. Язык, в конце концов, сам решает, какому своему гражданину жить полнокровно.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 6, 02.03.1996)

“Будучи свободным, русский язык открывает свободный путь для иноязычных слов.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 12, 05.07.1997)

Whereas language is given agency, speakers are not mentioned at all. Deleting speakers' agency also separates the speakers and the language. The speakers are deemed unimportant in linguistic processes, it is the language itself that acts (язык чутко реагирует), this is underscored by a qualifier (сам решает), again suppressing the role of speakers. Language is given character traits (русский язык снисходителен, Будучи свободным), thereby the status of language is elevated to that of an independent entity, and linguistic processes are initiated by language itself without the participation of speakers. This strategy claims authority over speakers by rendering them unimportant.

Abstraction

Actors can also be suppressed by nominalisation (e.g. nominalised verbs, process verbs) and by adjectives (van Leeuwen 1996: 40). Such abstract descriptions of processes obfuscate the actors behind them.

“В последние 20 лет ... произошло и существенное обновление русской речи Организующими речевыми принципами становятся либерализация, де- и реидеологизация языкового употребления, усиление личностного начала.” (Izvestiia 14, 07.08.2007)

Language is described to have changed by itself, the noun phrase обновление русской речи betrays no source of the renewal outside language, nor does the neuter impersonal verb произошло. Details of language change are given in equally abstract terms (либерализация, де- и реидеологизация языкового употребления). Speakers are granted no role in this process, the description is given in academic, abstract terms. This constructs the process as something naturally occurring in the language, not shaped by speaker behaviour.

3.4.1.2. Linguists and academic experts

Newspaper articles on any subject often make use of experts. Given the nature of newspaper articles, their intention to relay reliable information to the audience, it is

not surprising that authors seek the input of experts. These experts can be considered part of the gatekeeping function of the media. They are given privileged access to the discourse due to their expertise, and lend greater credence to the argument. Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 275f), in an analysis of a post-election television debate, demonstrate how the negotiation of access to discourse can be observed. The authors enumerate different agents in the debate – e.g. journalists, politicians, politologists, academic specialists – and observe that these agents have different roles and rights in the debate. Although this analysis has been criticised by CDA theorists Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 101ff) for pushing the analysis of discourse into the background and concentrating on an analysis of what Bourdieu terms ‘objective realities’ – the positions of social power and symbolic dominance the agents occupy – it demonstrates the importance of examining such discourse participants. The position of these experts contributes to the construction of a linguistic elite: “Power is signalled ... also by a person’s control of a social occasion, by means of the genre of a text, or by access to certain public spheres.” (Baker et al 2008: 280) Analysing how experts enter the debate can provide better understanding of the complexity of it. According to Milani (2007: 117), researchers must “try to unpack the ways in which the ‘expert/lay divide’ ... itself is discursively constructed with the help of, or under the constraints of, print media, rather than establishing a priori who is the expert and therefore speaks with authority”. Thus, the linguists consulted by journalists and cited in articles are presented to the audience as experts by various means. Academic linguists, considered the foremost source of authority on linguistic developments, therefore feature in much of the metadiscourse. They provide soundbites, are cited, interviewed, or appealed to for help. Access to discourse production is a crucial step in establishing and participating in a particular discourse.

The citing of experts can serve different functions: Authoritative figures can be used to suit the argument of the author. They can for example provide reassurance:

“Но лингвисты, которых такая "либерализация" языка по идее должна ужасать, сохраняют оптимизм. "Язык - слишком прочная и жизнеустойчивая система, к тому же способная самоочищаться, - говорит А. Шахнарович.” (Argumenty i Fakty 1, 27.12.2000)

The assurance of the linguist that language is a living system capable of self-cleaning (a widespread argument in the discourse, as shown above) is contrasted with the mention of liberalisation (put into inverted commas, to create ironic distance, to add to the distance created by the abstract, agent-less concept). Again in this example the fundamentally dangerous or negative nature of anglicisms is brought out, but the strength of language will cope with them.

Academic titles and affiliations

Most often, linguists actively form the discourse by writing the articles, or being interviewed, or quoted. The academic titles and affiliations are usually given a prominent position, investing their statements with authoritative qualifications and tying their statement to social positions (Milani 2007: 109). The manner of presenting these experts and their words presented is crucial, showing authorial intention: “The act of retelling a narrative involves the speaker’s control of what is being retold and how that retelling is structured and organized.” (Barker & Galasiński 2001: 77) The following examples illustrate how experts are presented.

“С Владимиром Нерознаком согласен и Михаил Горбаневский, доктор филологических наук, профессор Российского университета дружбы народов, председатель Гильдии лингвистов-экспертов по документационно-информационным спорам и один из авторов книги "Не говори шершавым языком".” (Izvestiia 9, 09.09.2003)

“Свою позицию излагает группа ученых Санкт-Петербургского государственного университета Людмила Вербицкая (ректор СПбГУ), Николай Кропачев и Сергей Богданов.” (Izvestiia 14, 07.08.2007)

“Евгений Водолазкин - доктор филологических наук, Институт русской литературы (Пушкинский дом) РАН, Санкт-Петербург.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 32, 14.01.2009)

“Михаил ЛУРЬЕ - 35-летний филолог, кандидат искусствоведения. Доцент кафедры детской литературы Санкт-Петербургского университета культуры и искусств. Преподаватель русского языка и литературы Академической гимназии Санкт-Петербургского университета.” (Ogonek 4, 14.02.2005)

“Корреспондент "РГ" беседует с известным культурологом и философом, профессором теории культуры и русской словесности университета Эмори (г. Атланта, США), членом российского Пен-клуба Михаилом Эпштейном.” (Rossiiskaia Gazeta 19, 25.07.2006)

The experts can agree with one another (согласен и), are stating their positions in a scientific way (Свою позицию излагает группа ученых) and chat to journalists (беседует с известным культурологом). Thus, a group of sensible, academically informed speakers is constructed. The word of these experts is to be trusted by readers, especially as they are in agreement with one another. The lists of professional qualifications and functions (доктор филологических наук, профессор Российского университета дружбы народов, председатель Гильдии лингвистов-экспертов по документационно-информационным спорам и один из авторов книги "Не говори шершавым языком"; доктор филологических наук, Институт русской литературы (Пушкинский дом) РАН, Санкт-Петербург) provides references proving their expert status. Their affiliations and titles function as signifiers of definitive authority. By distributing expert linguistic views, the articles claim authority over the speakers and justify the proposed view as legitimate. The reader is lectured to, but also invited to be part of the in-group of those who know how to behave linguistically and obey the rules made by the linguists.

Academic objectivity

The consultation of linguistic experts can be considered as a device to perpetuate a hegemonic discourse. Ideological messages are conveyed with their help, as Blommaert states: "The struggle for authoritative entextualization involves ideology brokers: categories of actors who ... can claim authority in the field of debate." (Blommaert 1999: 9) However, this hegemonic discourse is presented as commonsense. The linguists are the obvious experts to be believed. Arguments stressing their academic objectivity underline their authority. Linguists are presented as an agent for a cure for language, as a group who are responsible for help with the situation:

"Естественно, языковые обороты со временем стареют, отмирают, заменяются новыми, но уж это дело специалистов время от времени упорядочивать эти вещи." (Izvestiia 4, 16.11.2000)

Linguists are given authority to bring order by being called specialists (это дело специалистов). Linguistic matters vaguely described (эти вещи) and considered are

mess that needs to be put in order (упорядочивать). Here also the topos of ‘yes, but’ (Естественно, ... но) is used, making expert intervention appear reasonable.

“Через какое-то время русский язык может исчезнуть ... Если активно заимствующаяся лексика в языке превышает 2-3%, лингвисты уверенно прогнозируют очень скорое ИСЧЕЗНОВЕНИЕ языка.” (Argumenty i Fakty 4, 04.02. 2004)

Linguists are framed by metalanguage constructing their opinions as uniform and scientifically objective (“лингвисты уверенно прогнозируют очень скорое ИСЧЕЗНОВЕНИЕ языка”). The temporal markers уже and очень скорое are used to convey threat: the situation is already advanced, something must be done to avert impending disappearance.

Scientific concepts are quoted to support statements:

“Как рассказали корреспонденту "РГ" специалисты кафедры русского языка Красноярского государственного педагогического университета, активизация иноязычных заимствований уже получила научное определение - "вербальная агрессия".” (Rossiiskaia Gazeta 32, 16.04.2008)

Linguists are called специалисты which lends credence and authority to their reported statements. The justification is achieved by citing experts, and citing the misinterpreted term вербальная агрессия to give weight to the argument. вербальная агрессия means aggressive verbal interpersonal behaviour, it does not apply to the appearance of foreign lexis. The overall message is that there is grave danger and that the linguists must be listened to because they have expert knowledge of how to avert the danger.

Topoi ‘we are all in it together’ and ‘the Great task’

The use of linguistic experts in metadiscourse is combined with other strategies. The following shows how experts are presented as part of the in-group of sensible speakers:

“Засилье иностранных слов сегодня настораживает и языковедов.”
(Rossiiskaia Gazeta 32, 16.04.2008)

The linguists are presented as one group, taken together with other concerned people (настораживает и языковедов). The linguists' state of concern is contrasted with former times when they may not have been worried by introducing a temporal adverb (сегодня). This constructs a sense of danger in current times.

“И если все это - великий, могучий русский язык, то нельзя ли для недостаточно "продвинутых" силами СМИ организовать краткий "ликбез" по изучению этого новообразования с участием специалистов?”
(Argumenty i Fakty 3, 25.06.2003)

The plea to organise a 'likbez' (организовать краткий "ликбез") recalls the times of the Bolshevik drive to teach everyone to read and write. By recalling this time, the situation today is portrayed as similarly grave and widespread action is justified. Importantly, such action seems achievable. Rhetorical questions, according to Blackledge (2005: 87f), have two main functions: 1. engaging polemically with a non-present critical voice, and 2. attempting to create commonsense agreement with audience. The rhetorical question conveys that of course this is entirely possible and with specialist intervention the situation will improve.

Overall, in the metadiscourse in Russian print media, academic linguists are quoted not in disagreement with the constructed 'sensible speakers' group, but mostly as part of them. Even in cases when linguists are used to argue that the language situation is not dangerous, the basic assumption that anglicisms are a negative element is upheld – it is merely downgraded from danger to annoyance that will pass. Most studies comparing professional and folklinguistic views have found that one position only in the debate is established as the natural, objective, logical one (Gal & Woolard 1995: 131), and that by laypeople, professional views are not accepted because laypeople consider themselves entirely competent to speak on a language that after all they speak themselves (Johnson 2001: 599, Spitzmüller 2005). In the Russian metadiscourse, this divide between expert and folk views is not evident. This can be traced to a difference in scholarly linguistic tradition, also of course

journalists may quote those views sympathetic with their own. As a result, the consensus constructed by the news text is particularly strong, as it includes the entire readership and builds contrast between them (and the entire group of sensible speakers) and an unspecified out-group of erring speakers.

3.4.1.3. *France as a role model*

The perceived aversion of the French towards anglicisms has almost become a cliché. France has a strong preservationist language tradition, and a relatively severe language law exists. French linguistic culture is often taken as an example for the Russian situation in the discourse on foreignisms. The French language law is often mentioned in the discourse, as well as the work of the Académie Française. Several means of achieving an argument of Russia to follow France can be singled out. However, at times in the 1990s, France is also taken as a negative example.

Russia is lagging behind the better example

Frequently, authors ask whether France should not be taken as an example:

“Французская академия, например, регулярно публикует списки ошибок, проникающих в язык и становящихся настолько распространенными, что могут в нем прижиться. Французы хотят, чтобы иностранные слова принимали французское обличье. К тому же не всякое иностранное слово они выпускают в речевой обиход. Прегрешения в этой области сурово караются, вплоть до штрафов. Может, и нам пора?” (Argumenty i Fakty 2, 04.02.2004)

“Во Франции язык - дело государственное и Академия имеет статус высшего суда.” (Izvestiia 1, 12.08.1995)

“Так, уже десять лет назад Франция приняла закон “Об использовании французского языка”, в котором не только утверждает его историческую роль, но и строго указывает границы, за которые не дозволено вторжение иноязычных слов.” (Pravda 4, 05.02.2004)

Temporal markers (уже десять лет назад) establish that Russia is lagging behind France. The rhetorical question (Может, и нам пора?) also creates a sense of Russia following France. The French linguistic culture is considered as superior, caring about the language properly, and thus a culture to learn from (Во Франции язык -

дело государственное). This comparison uses an idealised, imagined France as counterpoint to Russia. The topos of a better place is used:

“Французы очень внимательно относятся к тому, что происходит в языке, и поддерживают образцовую речь, опираясь на классические традиции.” (Izvestiia 9, 09.09.2003)

The French are held up as good examples who are maintaining their classical traditions (поддерживают образцовую речь, опираясь на классические традиции). This description is of an imagined France and does not have to correspond to actuality – and indeed does not, as Seriot shows (Seriot 2006: 85). Also, Braselmann (2004: 202 states that discourses of language legislation are not taking unique French conditions into account and are based on older language policies. Here, we find erasure – a common factor in linguistic ideology, meaning “forms of forgetting, denying, ignoring, or forcibly eliminating those distinctions or social facts that fail to fit the picture of the world presented by an ideology” (Gal 2005: 27). The imagined France, a better place, is invoked to show the Russian readership a good example, also to prove that the demands placed on the Russian speakers by the author are perfectly achievable.

Sharing information

Articles mentioning France also set up a dialogue with the readers where information is shared, or common knowledge referred to.

“Во Франции, вы знаете, запрещены иноязычные заимствования в названиях программ, заведений. А у нас? У нас непременно "Брэйн-ринг", "Русское бистро", "Деревянное дерево"?” (Rossiiskaia Gazeta 3, 05.12.1996)
“Надо ли брать французов в пример?” (Izvestiia 14, 07.08.2007)
“Может, и нам пора?” (Argumenty i Fakty 2, 04.02.2004)

The need for action is underscored by the rhetorical questions asked in the articles. These questions involve the reader in the argument (Может, и нам пора? А у нас?). The reader is involved by the addressing вы знаете, which establishes the point

made as common, obvious knowledge. Such argumentation contributes to the construction of the in-group of speakers who know the facts and behave sensibly.

Distancing from France

However, the positing of France as a good example is not found throughout. The 1990s corpus contains some negative reactions towards French language policies, terming them chauvinistic.

“К сожалению, эта последовательность французской элиты нередко оборачивается ее чрезмерным консерватизмом и даже шовинизмом, борьбой со всем иностранным вообще, приводит к языковому пуризму, запретам на иноязычные слова и выражения, введению "квот" на фильмы и песни и т. д.” (Kommersant 3, 16.04.1996)

In this context, the term linguistic purism is described as an undesirable consequence of resistance against anglicisms (приводит к языковому пуризму). In *Nezavisimaia Gazeta*, in 1996, there is a vitriolic reaction to foundation (in December 1995) of the *Совет по русскому языку при Президенте Российской Федерации*:

“И все на чистом русском: мол, сударушка моя, не изволите ли того-с-сего-с?. . И ни разу ни "имиджа", ни "презентации" не скажут. Одно слово - академики! ... Чуваки, говорю, прикиньте: французы, говорю, тоже порешили как-то от англицизмов избавляться. Только хрена у их вышло.”
(*Nezavisimaia Gazeta* 5, 24.02.1996)

In this humorous text, the results of French language policy efforts are summarised with *Только хрена у их вышло* and thus dismissed. The extract is from the *Титус Советологов* column. This column was *Nezavisimaia Gazeta*'s calling card, a viciously sarcastic daily commentary on current affairs (Zassoursky 2004: 53). It is significant to find a comment on language in this key part of the paper, as it shows the importance allotted to language issues. As especially at that time *Nezavisimaia Gazeta* was challenging dominant discourses and this statement on anglicisms cannot be taken to express the debate of the time, it is interesting to analyse how this paper changed its tone on the language debate over time.

The opposition of some negative comments on France with later positive descriptions suggests that the linguistic attitudes have changed throughout the post-Soviet period. In the 1990s the French linguistic culture and policies are portrayed as too exclusive, whereas later with a strong governmental emphasis on linking language and national culture, the French model becomes a desirable one to emulate. Gallois et al explain that as in-groups and out-groups change over time, language attitudes and behaviour can change too (Gallois et al 2009: 607). Thus, in the 1990s French language policy seems exclusive and closed, whereas some of the Russian discourse favours openness. The topic of French language policy can be instrumentalised in different ways, depending on the argument.

3.4.1.4. Necessity of legal measures

The discussion of French language law discussed above is of course linked to the question whether Russian legislation on language is sufficient, or what the government should do to promote ‘good’ Russian language. Mostly, the discourse supports a language law and employs several argumentation strategies to prove a need for legislation, even when the current state of the Russian language law is deplored.

“Насколько эффективным может быть государственное регулирование в языковой сфере и возможно ли оно вообще?” (Izvestiia 14, 07.08.2007)

This question shows the level of assumption operating in the discourse on language law. The question device functions to introduce this as a discussion with arguments for and against. At the same time, the word *насколько* indicates the assumption that government regulation is effective on some level; the question whether it is possible at all is only asked after that. The audience gets the sense that government intervention is certainly possible on some level and it is only a question of degree. Overall, the debates about the language argue that law and order are needed to control linguistic danger, and give out calls for duty to justify those measures, while complaints about the current state of the language law also arise.

Law and order to control danger

A recurring theme in the discourse on anglicisms is possible government intervention. Here, authority argumentation and discourse of 'law and order' are used. It is debated whether this is needed or not, and if so, in what form.

“Всеми силами бороться за чистоту русского языка, в том числе и принятием законов о его использовании на радио, телевидении и в рекламе, о максимальном ограничении употребления иноязычных слов.” (Pravda 7, 27.03.2007)

“На наш взгляд, ошибочно представление о том, что возможно отсутствие какой бы то ни было языковой политики. Ни одно государство не может себе этого позволить.” (Izvestiia 14, 07.08.2007)

“Необходимо отказываться от засилья привнесенных извне элементов. Необходим комплекс мер, в том числе и законодательных, направленных на сохранение русского языка.” (Moskovskie Novosti 8, 11.08.2006)

“И проблема сохранения языка достаточно тесно связана с проблемой безопасности страны.” (Novaia Gazeta 2, 17.12.2001)

Language is constructed as a separate entity, to be kept clean by means of battle (силами бороться за чистоту русского языка). This metaphor emphasises the difficult nature of this process and the need for restrictive practice that prevents speakers from transgressing. The necessity of intervention is highlighted by repetition (Необходимо ... Необходим ...) and emphasis (Ни одно государство), which demands rigour not only in speaking practice, but in the measures regulating it as well. The quantifying Ни одно государство furthermore stresses the generality of the statement and naturalizes it as not only applicable to Russian, but as universally accepted truth. Agent deletion (Необходимо отказываться, Необходим комплекс мер) means that no particular speaker is responsible for the language, but official bodies with the official language are portrayed as the authoritative voices.

For stark phrasing of the law-and-order discourse, consider the following excerpt:

“Остаётся добавить, что в других европейских странах (да и не только европейских), где правительства не отказались, как у нас, от подлинной языковой политики, дела обстоят иначе. В по-настоящему цивилизованных, лингвистически просвещённых государствах существуют специальные должности "языковых полицейских", которые при самом активном и действенном участии рядовых (и заинтересованных) носителей языка поддерживают "языковой порядок" в своём национальном доме. Эти полицейские (образованные

государственные служащие!) следят за правильностью применения государственного языка, выявляют нежелательные иноязычные заимствования в нём и налагают официальные санкции на злостных "нарушителей".» (Literaturnaia Gazeta 11, 02.03.2005)

Via comparison with other countries, the situation in Russia is constructed as negative. States with a strong language policy are called genuinely civilised (по-настоящему цивилизованных, лингвистически просвещённых государствах), implying the incomplete uncivilised state of Russia in linguistic matters. A language police is demanded, although in inverted commas, who will uphold linguistic order with the help of speakers. The work of this police force is given in an enumeration (следят за правильностью, выявляют нежелательные..., налагают официальные санкции). This enumeration views the suggested activities as a task list that must be completed. The 'policemen' are образованные государственные служащие, so their action is justified by the fact they are educated. The purpose of their task also justifies it: they keep linguistic order in the national house (поддерживают "языковой порядок" в своём национальном доме). Here the topos of orderliness and tidiness is combined the metaphor of Russia as a house. The combination of these stylistic devices, deploring the current language legislation and emotively describing a desirable future state, form into a narrative strongly in favour of restrictive measures (re-)instating law and order.

Call to duty - justifying measures

Other voices are in favour of intervention, but state that there must be a measured approach to dealing with foreignisms, as borrowing is a natural process that must be guided. The intervention is demanded from linguists and journalists:

“Объем иноязычных заимствований в наше переходное время существенно вырос, и глупо стремиться поставить искусственные заслоны этому естественному процессу, но нужна какая-то мера. Все это должно стать объектом терпеливой и последовательной просветительской работы филологов и журналистов, объектом новой линии языкового воспитания общества, а именно - языковой критики.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 24, 02.12.2000)

Whilst artificially regulating a natural process is called stupid (глупо стремиться поставить искусственные заслоны этому естественному процессу), some measure is necessary (нужна какая-то мера), sustaining the ‘yes, but’ topos. Journalists and linguists are required to work patiently on ‘all this’ – details are not given, but the modal должно serves to emphasize the necessity of their duty. There is a lack of subject and agency, as well as a high number of abstract nouns (объектом новой линии языкового воспитания общества), serving to depersonalise the process; as well, a pseudo-academic term (языковой критики) is deployed, conveying authority.

“- Да. Идет естественный процесс. Даже без воли отдельных людей происходит отсеивание. Но думаю, что процесс должен быть управляемым. Мы собираемся с конца года публиковать рекомендации: какие слова заслуживают проникновения в наш языковой дом, а какие должны быть отсеяны как признак низкой языковой и духовной культуры.
- Своего рода экологический словарь русского языка?
- Совершенно верно. Когда такие вещи будут обнародованы и поддержаны СМИ, то и сами журналисты, и их слушатели и читатели будут воспринимать это по-другому.” (Pravda 2, 27.01.1999)

The use of lexicon from the domains of nature concedes that the borrowing process is natural (Да. Идет естественный процесс), but must be regulated (‘yes, but’ topos). Other than most texts, where the measures to regulate the process remain nebulous, this interviewee is planning to give out recommendations: which words deserve to enter into the language house and which ones must be sifted out because they belong to a low linguistic and spiritual culture. The word управляемым may also call Putin’s concept of managed democracy (see above). Language is portrayed as a unified entity, combined with national culture. This adds to the importance of language and its central role for speakers.

The “ecological” dictionary of Russian, according to the interviewee, should be supported by the media. Pseudolinguistic terms such as these have been used to lend an undertone of the endangered language in need of protective measures, adding to the arsenal of metaphors of threat. By the emphatic affirmative Совершенно верно, the correctness of what the linguists are doing is underscored. Positive consequences are promised (сами журналисты, и их слушатели и читатели будут воспринимать это по-другому). These strategies serve to justify regulation of

language and keeping one particular variant as the standard with normative measures, and construct them as a duty for academics and journalists.

Criticism of the language law

Of course, legal measures already exist in the form of the Russian language law. In recent years, after the introduction of the Law on the Russian Language as state language, several changes have been made to the Russian language law (see chapter 1, 4.), accompanied by discussions on the effectiveness of these changes. Some of the discourse projects a critical view of the language law. The law is derided as inaccurate and badly written: “many journalists and commentators noticed in a disparaging tone that [the language law] was self-contradictory. For instance an article of the law explains that a foreign word can be accepted for official use only if there is no equivalent (‘analog’) in Russian.” (Seriot 2006: 88) The following example illustrates the negative reaction:

“Авторы текста закона сами нарушили в этом случае (да!) и дух и букву ими же сформулированного требования, поскольку у слова "аналог" есть полноценные русские синонимы: соответствие, сходство, замена и т.п.”
(Literaturnaia Gazeta 11, 02.03.2005)

The authority that the discourse claims over speakers or the demands that it exerts over speakers is supported by arguments of commonsense, by the construction of necessity of drastic measures, and by the use of authoritative individuals (experts) or institutions (government). The next section shows how the speakers are throughout the discourse constructed as a unified group.

3.4.2. Construction of a unified linguistic community

The construction of a unified group of speakers serves several aims. Firstly, creating a unified group rationalises the universality of language rules – they apply to the group, thus to everyone. Secondly, the existence of such a group can negate the potential of individual linguistic choices and in contrast upholds the notion of a nationwide standard. Such a created group in the media can be thought of as a public,

a notion used by Gal and Woolard (1995: 135): The idea of a public is not reliant on a concrete readership, but on the projection or imagination of groups in mass media. This public is a purely constructed group, as most of the members will never meet. This unified group is portrayed in the discourse by conflating all speakers, and by addressing them together.

3.4.2.1. Conflation of all speakers

Presupposing a unified group of speakers

In levelling differences between individual speakers or subgroups of speakers, the discourse portrays one uniform group of speakers either in a positive light (all sensible speakers) or negative (everyone has been transgressing). A uniform group of speakers is achieved by several devices. The most obvious of them is the use of deictic ‘we’. The following examples illustrate how this device is used:

“Но это не значит, что мы должны сидеть сложа руки.” (Literaturnaia Gazeta 12, 24.02.2005)

“Нужно нам и самим задуматься о том, как мы относимся к этому величайшему национальному достоянию, завещанному нам предыдущими поколениями, - родному языку.” (Literaturnaia Gazeta 18, 13.02.2008)

The author includes all readers into one group of sensible speakers who are not idle (не значит, что мы должны сидеть сложа руки) and understand when they ought to take linguistic action. The second example tells the readership that ‘we’ ourselves (нам и самим) must think about our attitude towards the great national achievement passed to ‘us’ from previous generations. The importance of language is emphasized by the description of it being passed down as national heritage; language is referred to as ‘this greatest of national achievements’. The respect that must be given to language is reinforced by the use of deictic we, which in this case is paternalistic – the author, instead of really including themselves in the group, is actually lecturing to and subordinating the reader group (Vanhala-Aniszewski 2010: 107). The speakers’ duties towards the language are in the focus, rather than their ownership of language. Seargeant (2009: 387f) argues that constructing language as an object conceptualises

it as existing independently from speakers, but leaves a link between language and speakers. Metaphors such as LANGUAGE IS POSSESSION reinstate the speakers into a relationship with language, but it is a relationship of duty. Language is presented as a venerated object that must be taken great care of. This quasi-fetishist veneration of language has long been an integral part of Russian linguistic culture and is still manifest today with particular vigour (Seifrid 2005: 1).

The creation of a unified group of speakers is also reinforced by the topos of ‘we are all in it together’, which emotively portrays speakers (i.e., the readers of the articles) as victims of borrowed linguistic elements:

“С экранов телевизоров и компьютеров на бедных людей обрушиваются заимствования из иностранных и специальных языков.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 26, 09.10.2003)

The speakers, who are lexicalised here as бедные люди, reinforcing their powerless victim status, are imagined as being bombarded from their screens by borrowings. Emotive terms such as those used in Nezavisimaia Gazeta stress the negative nature of the language changes.

Addressing readers

In the metadiscourse, readers are appealed to directly, which reinforces the message that they are a unified group. Addressing the readers directly also serves to establish a group of speakers who are acting together and who are told collectively what to do:

“Спрашивается, не является ли инновация одним из ненужных заимствований, дублирующих уже имеющиеся в русском языке собственные слова? Давайте разберемся. Дело в том, что нередко заимствованное слово обозначает не то же самое, что близкое ему по значению исконное слово.” (Izvestiia 15, 08.06.2009)

The interpersonal metalinguistic Спрашивается introduces the agent-less question as to whether the word инновация is unnecessary or not. Then, the invitation Давайте разберемся addresses the reader, creating a sense of unity – the idea of the writer and the reader examining the problem together. The linguistic unity is enhanced by

the fact that neither the question nor the answer have agency specified; it is not imposed by anyone onto the reader. The answer, however, is given to the recipient immediately, signalled by Дело в том, что, which signifies a given fact. Thus, ultimately the authority of the author over the group of speakers is reinforced and the reader is ascribed linguistic choices and attitudes.

The long borrowing history is used to show what is perceived to be Russian insecurity and inferiority complex:

“Подумайте только, два века, начиная с Петра I, двор, знать, цари - все разговаривали на иностранных языках. В какой стране такая муть могла бы быть? ... У нас ... комплекс неполноценности, который выражался в дикой страсти к западному существованию, с одной стороны, а с другой - в неприятии всего западного, в квасном патриотизме, который тоже есть комплекс неполноценности.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 21, 17.03.2000)

In this excerpt, several interpersonal moves can be singled out. Firstly, the plea Подумайте только, addressing the recipients directly and appealing for shared emotions, signals that the following is tragic and obviously known to the reader. Then, rhetorically, the author asks В какой стране такая муть могла бы быть? (implied answer: none except Russia), before giving the diagnosis of inferiority complex which includes themselves, the reader and is extended to everyone in the country (У нас). This complex, according to the author, finds its expression both in love for all things Western and on the other hand misguided patriotism. The sense of negativity is intensified by calling the use of foreignisms ‘this murky stuff, ’такая муть. The dramatised narrative of this example, which also uses the topos of history as a teacher (discussed above) reinforces the discourses of threat, or moral disorder, and of victimised speakers.

Unifying all speakers into one group, who must adhere to the same linguistic rules regarding foreignisms, is a strategy which serves the maintenance of the status quo. Speakers are a unified group for whom only one kind of behaviour is acceptable. At the same time, they are constructed as a group of ‘civilised people’, who are addressed by authors, invited to share the beliefs and emotions on language. Gal and Woolard (2001) speak of publics rather than of speech communities. The term

‘public’ stresses the constructed, imagined nature of this group. Whereas speech community implies contact between many individuals within the group, the notion of ‘public’ relies on the construction of a unified group for example in the media. The above examples of group construction show how the metadiscourse evokes a group of ‘sensible’ speakers, a community of people who speak in a certain way while this community actually only exists within the discourse and does not correspond to an actual group of people. But including the readers in the group makes for a very persuasive argument, they feel they are concerned by these issues so assume that the rest of the group is as well.

3.4.3. Vilification of ‘errant’ speaker behaviour

The vilification of speakers’ behaviour is a common theme in the discourse. As shown above, one contributing factor is the separation between language and its speakers, portraying language as a pure, perfect system that is harmed by errant behaviour. The vilification of certain speech behaviour is achieved by the use of irony, moralising arguments, and belittling or distancing strategies.

3.4.3.1. Distancing and Othering

Distancing is a powerful tool of metadiscourse, labelling certain linguistic behaviour as erroneous and as belonging only to the faulty out-group. Distancing serves to delineate the in-group and set up an opposition between ‘us’ and ‘them’, by negative other-representation.

Humour, irony and belittling

Humour is used in the following example, where the author imitates what they perceive to be the typical speech of people who use anglicisms:

““Мы позиционируем свой бренд в секторе хай-мидл-класса”, - говорит в одном рекламном ролике молодой менеджер, озабоченный продажами дорогого кофе... Что сказать-то хотел, мужик? Чтобы докопаться до смысла, нужно перевести фразу на нормальный русский. Но... ведь так выражаются нынче многие - и на телеэкране, и в жизни.” (Izvestiia 11, 01.11.2006)

The example dismantles the foreign words as unnecessary by ridicule. The author uses the device of a mock dialogue, ridiculing a speaker who uses anglicisms by feigning misunderstanding and calling him мужик, a word with demotic, familiar overtones. With this device, not only is the user of anglicisms ridiculed, but an in-group is created with the reader who is invited to share the joke. Anglicisms and their users are unequivocally negative in this example, and an implied group is created of ‘sensible’ speakers who adhere to purist knowledge that ascribes ‘normal’ status to words which have no markers of recent borrowing.

The next example shows a different combination of arguments: denial of seriousness combined with a diffuse threat, and citing of literary authors.

“Бог с ними, пусть бы приобщались к западной цивилизации, но все это приводит в конечном счете к разрушению русского языка, русской культуры, русских традиций, наконец, русского национального самосознания. Пушкин писал, что употребление иностранных слов без нужды - проявление лени.” (Rossiiskaia Gazeta 2, 07.03.1996)

In this excerpt, the reason for the behaviour is given as a turning to western civilisation, but it is warned that in this case the Russian language, culture, traditions will be destroyed. Although the people who turn to western civilisation are patronisingly permitted this (“Бог с ними, пусть бы приобщались к западной цивилизации”), implying that their action will have no consequences, the definite destruction of Russian is warned about nevertheless. Threat and its defusion are presented together. The reason for the destruction is glossed over with “все это”, but the argument against using foreign words is substantiated with Pushkin’s thoughts on the matter – that using foreign words is lazy (употребление иностранных слов без нужды - проявление лени). Humorous argumentation is however not as widespread as arguments that are professing objectivity and rationality.

3.4.3.2. *Moralising arguments*

Moralising arguments hinge on a connection constructed between language behaviour and questions of character, both of individuals and of the imagined group. Language change is equated with moral chaos, the use of foreignisms is equated with shortcomings of character, and specific anglicism occurring in speech are attributed to fashion. The moralising discourse is characterised by negative overtones.

Equating language change and moral chaos

Moralisation is a powerful strategy – equating certain speech behaviour with immoral behaviour automatically makes it appear in a very negative light.

“Речевая свобода часто подменяется вседозволенностью и стилистической беспринципностью.” (Izvestiia 14, 07.08.2007)
“От вседозволенности языковой журналистика перешла к вседозволенности тематической и этической.” (Izvestiia 9, 09.09.2003)

Free speech behaviour is equated directly with a situation where everything is permissible and no stylistic principles apply (подменяется вседозволенностью и стилистической беспринципностью). Style and linguistic norms here take on moral values and are linked to lack of principles, lending importance to linguistic matters. The processes are framed by *часто*, but constructed as impersonal (подменяется вседозволенностью и стилистической беспринципностью). The effect of this combination is a sense of ubiquity of an unprincipled situation with the impossibility to isolate those responsible. The overall negative depiction of anglicisms is achieved by presenting moral depravity as a direct consequence from linguistic freedom.

Equating speech behaviour and shortcomings of character

Blame is put on the lack of education of those using anglicisms, on those who are suspected of showing off their knowledge by using anglicisms, and on those using foreign words out of laziness:

“Засоряют русский язык в равной степени и малограмотные и необразованные люди, и те, кто считают себя интеллектуалами. ... Такого рода "грамотность", желание блеснуть эрудицией засоряют язык невероятно.” (Izvestiia 9, 09.09.2003)

“Наиболее признанные специалисты пишут об этом как об интеллектуальной лени, распаде структуры не только языка, но и социальных координат вообще, даже о болезни (отошлем читателя к книгам и статьям профессоров Л.А. Вербицкой, В.В. Химика, Е.А. Земской, О.А. Лаптевой).” (Moskovskie Novosti 8, 11.08.2006)

Several elements constructing an argument of morality and threat are discernible here. Firstly, uneducated people (малограмотные и необразованные люди) are blamed for polluting the language. So, however, are those who consider themselves intellectuals – their linguistic knowledge is hedged with inverted commas ("грамотность") to ironise and create distance, and a gloss is given straight after (желание блеснуть эрудицией), equating linguistic behaviour with showing off. Recognised specialists (Наиболее признанные специалисты) are used to substantiate arguments that speakers are intellectually lazy, and that linguistic as well as social structures are breaking down (распаде структуры не только языка, но и социальных координат вообще). The use of these specialists validates the argument. Metaphors of dirt emphasize the negative qualities of anglicisms. The reader is reminded that language and society are closely linked, justifying the need for regulatory measures.

“Словарь наш обновляется в темпе жизни поколений, и это естественно. Другое дело, что часто из-за лени и в спешке в оборот вводятся иноязычные слова, имеющие приемлемый русский эквивалент.” (Izvestiia 5, 11.08.2001)

The vocabulary is 'ours', yet is renewed without agent in the above construction. The topos 'yes, but' (это естественно. Другое дело...) justifies the purist argument. Foreign words enter, in a passive construction, but the blame is put on bad speakers who are lazy or hasty (из-за лени и в спешке). Thus, language change is attributed to shortcomings of character and to the behaviour of bad speakers. This dichotomy between language and speakers casts language as perfect, speakers as violators and bad people. Speakers are thus backgrounded, again language is mystified so that speakers can do only the wrong thing and need guidance to behave adequately

towards language, even though it is somehow ‘theirs’. Speakers thus have duties towards ‘their’ language, but no rights.

Language in the media and on the internet frequently becomes the subject of attack:

“американизмы...- Действительно, наша печать, телевидение и радио, призванные служить эталоном национальной грамотности, превратились в рассадник языкового нигилизма.” (Nezavisimaia Gazeta 14, 04.12.1997)
“Интернет наградил целым букетом иностранных терминов вперемежку с жаргонным сленгом.” (Argumenty i Fakty 4, 04.02. 2004)

The media are referenced negatively as breeding nihilism (превратились в рассадник языкового нигилизма), which is a very negative image and suggests a complete lack of respect for rules and tradition. Language from the internet is vilified by equation with illness. The word рассадник is commonly used in conjunction with illness. Similarly, the phrase наградил целым букетом is usually associated with sexually transmitted diseases: anglicisms are equated with illness, but here the concomitant moral implications of sexually transmitted diseases add to the force of the metaphor.

Fashion: Stressing the transitory and immoral quality of anglicisms

The argument that anglicisms are merely fashionable elements contributes to the moralising debate, especially taking into account the negative connotation of fashion in Soviet times. Anglicisms are relegated to a matter of mere fashion, used by people wanting to impress.

“модные американизмы, англицизмы и другие заимствования”
(Argumenty i Fakty 1, 27.12.2000)
“"болезнь новизны" приняла хронический характер, побеждая язык Пушкина.” (Rossiiskaia Gazeta 32, 16.04.2008)
“Разумеется, иностранные слова засоряют речь, особенно, ... когда их употребляют ради моды и по худому знанию родного языка.”
(Nezavisimaia Gazeta 14, 04.12.1997)
“Кроме любимых ими иностранных заимствований, которые они по недоразумению почитают "высоким стилем", свидетельствующим об их социальном и образовательном превосходстве над простыми, тёмными массами, эти бациллоносители уродуют и собственно русскую речь.”

(Literaturnaia Gazeta 22, 14.05.2008)

”Заимствования вообще имеют такую замечательную особенность - они то входят в моду, то становятся немодными, как тупоносые ботинки.”

(Literaturnaia Gazeta 22, 14.05.2008)

The fashion for new words is suggested to vanish soon by itself anyway. The impact of the new words is thus reduced to mere annoyance, not as a lasting phenomenon or threat. At the same time, however, threatening metaphors such as illness (болезнь новизны; эти бациллоносители уродуют и собственно русскую речь) are linked with the fashion for foreign words, which implicitly portrays them as more serious. The discourse evokes the Soviet concept of fashion, which was seen as dangerous. On the other hand, the topos of ‘fashions pass’ (они то входят в моду, то становятся немодными, как тупоносые ботинки) mitigates the threat.

In sum, speakers are cast in several roles by the discourse, but always encompassed in one single group. Either this group is portrayed as victims of language change, or as a collection of immoral elements harming the language. The language, the Great Tradition, was passed down to them and must be kept pure, but instead it is harmed. The speakers are branded as misbehaving, immoral harmful elements. Gallois et al (2009: 605) state that in questions of language attitudes, the ‘black sheep effect’ is at work, meaning that misbehaving in-group members can be judged more harshly than outsiders would be. As the constructed in-group is ‘all sensible speakers’, everyone can be judged harshly and tarred with the same moral brush. However, in other arguments, this group of all sensible speakers is also appealed to for help with the situation, or upheld as those who know how to speak. As a consequence, the commonsense idea of language, the consensus is upheld – language as a perfect separate entity that is harmed by people. This consensus recalls Preston’s scheme of good and bad language, and Lippi-Green’s framework of language subordination.

The following section examines whether the argumentation strategies are consistent throughout print media metadiscourse both over time and in different publications.

4. Metadiscourse over time and across publications

What can the different publications under examination reveal about the varied nature of language discourse? Are the results from the preceding analysis uniform over time, or are there differences that can be attributed to socio-political factors, ownership of the paper, or official policy? In order to answer these questions, I first looked at overall numbers of articles mentioning anglicisms in INTEGRUM. Table 6 shows the absolute number of articles that were found in Integrum searching for англицизм*. The англицизм search was intended to give a quick overview of the development over time. As the description of method stated, to build the corpus other key words were searched for such as иноязычн* заимствовани* or американизм*. But in this search to gain an overview of how much specifically anglicisms are debated, various articles used in the analysis are left out.

Table 17: Coverage of anglicisms

year	Central media	Data collection
1993	0	0
1994	0	1
1995	0	2
1996	1	5
1997	3	4
1998	4	2
1999	4	2
2000	15	8
2001	8	4
2002	13	5
2003	20	3
2004	22	5
2005	35	3
2006	46	8
2007	78	10
2008	63	9
2009	32	4

In all central media in the INTEGRUM databases, in the early 1990s there is no mention of anglicisms, but towards the late 1990s anglicisms are starting to be

mentioned. By 2000 the number rises, then rises again to reach a peak in 2007, the year of the Russian language. The findings in my collection of sources echo this trend. in the 1990s where articles exist, a limited number talk of anglicisms positively, or at least of restrictive measures negatively, such as the negative reaction towards French language culture, and the satirisation of language legislation cited above (3.4.1.4.). Anglicisms and language change may not have been deemed newsworthy in the early 1990s, as more pressing more political concerns were covered in the print media, and language was not considered a newsworthy topic. Although the large amount of borrowing provoked debate, any purist concerns were confined to journals that were not widely read (Gorham 2000). As linguistic developments were not a source of concern, the words were not debated in national print media.

The following sections give overviews of metadiscourse on anglicisms in different publications.

4.1. Argumenty i Fakty

Argumenty i Fakty was founded in 1978 and became a subscription only weekly paper in 1980. Its original goal was to provide propagandists with statistical data and information that was hard to come by. Argumenty i Fakty was one of the leading publications during the glasnost campaign. In the necessary repositioning of newspapers after the breakdown, Argumenty i Fakty drifted towards becoming a tabloid (Pietiläinen et al 2010: 43). In 1990 its readership was 33.5 million, a record number which had dwindled to a tenth of that by 2000 (Zassoursky 2004).

Argumenty i Fakty is a popular paper and is published in several regional editions as well. The following table shows what strategies we find in the limited number of articles in Argumenty i Fakty that deal with foreign borrowings.

Table 18: Argumenty i Fakty

Date of publication	Argumentative strategies
27.12.2000	Agency, diffuse threat
21.02.2001	great tradition, agency, diffuse threat, France, conflation of speakers, moralisation

25.06.2003	'yes, but' topos, communication
04.02.2004	'yes, but' topos, legal measures

The material in *Argumenty i Fakty* is limited: the search yielded four articles. This is perhaps not surprising, as *Argumenty i Fakty* is known more for short articles in a tabloid style aiming to entertain. Language issues do not fall into the remit of topics that can be easily covered in such a way. The articles found occur in the early 2000s and show uniform discourse of threat seen in the analytical chapter: The articles portray language under diffuse threat, and speakers as aberrant. Discourse of mild reasonableness, using the 'yes but' topos, is used. When language issues are mentioned, they are framed in terms of threat to the language. This echoes the tendency of all the print media to mention language issues only when there is a threat. Any entertainment value in linguistic topics, such as may be needed in a tabloid style publication, must be derived from dramatisation (Cameron 1995), but the entertainment value can not be stretched indefinitely, therefore there is a low number of articles. But it is significant that in the articles that do exist, the same strategies as throughout are used.

4.2. Izvestiia

The newspaper *Izvestiia* has traditionally been linked to the Soviet government, serving as its mouthpiece from 1917 to 1992 (its full name was Известия Советов Народных Депутатов СССР). As such, it was naturally a tightly controlled paper but aimed to publish quality material. After the downfall of the Soviet Union, *Izvestiia* sought to retain its status as a quality paper (Pietiläinen et al 2010: 43). During the tumultuous post-Soviet period, the newspaper underwent several changes of ownership. *Izvestiia* was bought by a large media holding in the 1990s (Zassurskii 2001: 23–34; Seth 2011: 19). Gazprom sold it in 2008 to the national media group. *Izvestiia* is a relatively popular quality daily (von Seth 2011: 19), but its reputation has changed from that of a vibrant critical voice to uninteresting and anodyne (Skillen 2007: 1270).

Table 19: Izvestiia

Date of publication	Argumentative strategies
27.08.1998	national identity/integrity, foreign ideas, moralisation
16.11.2000	language = society, aggression/war
11.08.2001	great tradition, agency, 'yes, but' topos, moralisation
17.04.2002	great tradition, authority, 'yes, but' topos
6.12.2002	moralisation
09.09.2003	great tradition, agency, language = society, 'yes, but' topos, diffuse threat, France, authority, moralisation
01.11.2006	great tradition, diffuse threat, national identity/integrity, authority, addressing speakers, ridiculing
26.03.2007	diffuse threat
17.05.2007	great tradition, moralisation, conflation of speakers
7.8. 2007	agency, 'yes, but' topos, communication, national identity/integrity France, authority, legal measures, moralisation
08.06.2009	moralisation
24.06.2009	addressing speakers legal measures, moralisation

Izvestiia features twelve articles on language in the time period examined. It is noticeable that in the 1990s, there is only one article in 1998. Again, the lack of newsworthiness ascribed to language issues is the reason for this dearth of articles. Then, there are one or two article per year from 2000 until 2003, a break until 2006, then three in 2007 and two in 2009. The cluster of articles in 2007 may be explained by the fact that 2007 was declared year of the Russian language. The discourse in Izvestiia is characterised by containing moralising elements throughout, regardless of time period. However, arguments constructing the great tradition gain prominence in the 2000s. In the first two articles, there is greater emphasis on Russia threatened by foreign ideas, expressed by war metaphors and the argument of national integrity under threat. From 2001 onwards, the construction of a great tradition with the help of constructing a continuous timeline from Peter the Great as well as evoking classic Russian authors, joins the moralisation arguments. Izvestiia's liberal reputation might lead to the assumption that language issues are covered in a manner that is not descriptive and argues for a relaxed approach to language issues, but this is not the case. The arguments for preserving can maybe be explained by Putin's aforementioned campaign of national identity building, consolidation and building of the Great Tradition. As a newspaper with traditionally close links to the government

that have been strengthened in recent years, it is to be expected that Izvestiia follows official discourse on language.

4.3. Kommersant

Kommersant was first published in 1909, but shut down after revolution, and re-established in 1989. Kommersant in its 1989 incarnation tried a new format of newspaper, modelling itself on Western publications and becoming the pioneer of Russian national business publications. Kommersant was the first newspaper that pronounced itself neutral, rejecting affiliation with any political camp. It appeared weekly, featuring a bold businesslike style with a touch of humour (Zassoursky 2004: 224). In 1992, Kommersant started appearing as a daily newspaper with a weekly magazine which evolved into two in 1997. Boris Berezovsky bought it in 1997. In 2007, it received official warnings in the run-up to presidential elections for covering an opposition party's activities (Azhgikhina 2007: 1245). It is now owned by Alisher Usmanov who is connected with Gazprom and has links to the government. Kommersant lost its status as the last widely read quality paper with views dissenting from the government line (Skillen 2007: 1270). Usmanov replaced the paper's top management and abolished the paper's popular and often controversial opinion page (Gehlbach 2010: 81).

Table 20: Kommersant

Date of publication	Argumentative strategies
14.11. 1992	mitigation
26.02. 1993	communication, Western influence
22.11. 1995	mitigation
31.01. 1996	France (negative)
16.04. 1996	France (negative)
09.10. 1999	diffuse threat
29.04. 2000	agency, topos of data
20.01. 2001	agency, diffuse threat, mitigation
30.05. 2001	moralisation
27.12. 2001	mitigation
17.04. 2002	authority
08.09. 2003	mitigation, humour
21.05. 2005	legal measures (negative)
31.10. 2005	authority, 'yes, but' topos, diffuse threat

31.05. 2006	France (positive)
10.12.2007	mitigation

Kommersant features 16 articles containing metadiscourse about anglicisms. It is notable that the first article in 1996 is negative about France, complaining that the French are too chauvinistic in forbidding foreign words. Ten years later, the attitude towards France has changed into upholding French language policy as a positive example. The articles in between use diffuse threat, implemented by metaphors of fight and cleanliness, and the agency of language. Kommersant is not concerned with language issues much because of its orientation towards business and economy. Much of the discourse features mitigation of any threat that might be perceived elsewhere. When anglicisms are mentioned, though, the same tropes are used as in other papers, such as the 'yes, but' topos, stating that authoritative individuals or groups must set norms, and positing threat whilst mitigating it at the same time. Thus, even in a business-oriented publication that downplays threat from language change, the fact that language can be viewed as a threat is acknowledged, and that authority must be imposed on linguistic matters. Kommersant thus contributes to a uniform metadiscourse about anglicisms.

4.4. Literaturnaia Gazeta

Literaturnaia Gazeta dates back to 1830, and as the name suggests concerned itself primarily with literary matters. It was regularly published from 1929 as the mouthpiece of the Writers Union. In 1947 the content of Literaturnaia Gazeta changed from purely literary to include items on politics and news as well. In 1990, Literaturnaia Gazeta became an independent collective, in 1997 a publicly traded company. During the 1990s, Literaturnaia Gazeta was liberal, but it has gradually become more conservative. It is published weekly, circulation in Russia is 96000 at present according to its own website (Literaturnaia Gazeta website).

Table 21: Literaturnaia Gazeta

Date of publication	Argumentative strategies
19.02. 1997	moralisation
06.03. 1998	moralisation, humour/ridicule
18.03. 1998	moralisation, mythologisation
30.09. 1998	moralisation
22.09. 1999	great tradition, diffuse threat
09.06. 2000	mitigation
18.07. 2001	legal measures, moralisation
12.09. 2001	agency, diffuse threat, mitigation, framing editorial comment
26.02. 2002	Western influence, diffuse threat
12.04. 2002	‘yes, but’ topos, diffuse threat, authority, mitigation, humour
25.09. 2002	great tradition, derogatory, moralisation
12.03. 2003	moralisation
14.05. 2003	‘yes, but’ topos, moralisation
20.05. 2003	mitigation
24.02. 2005	great tradition, agency, national identity/integrity, ‘yes, but’ topos, diffuse threat, Western influence, conflation speakers
02.03.2005	France, national identity/integrity, legal measures (negative)
05.07. 2006	Western influence
25.10.2006	neutral
15.11. 2006	‘yes, but’ topos, France
29.11. 2006	moralisation
27.12. 2006	Western influence
14.02. 2007	mitigation
14.03. 2007	neutral
19.12. 2007	Western influence, moralisation
23.01. 2008	diffuse threat, moralisation
13.02. 2008	Western influence, authority, conflation speakers, moralisation
02.04. 2008	diffuse threat
16.04. 2008	mitigation/neutral
14.05.2008	diffuse threat, France, legal measures, moralisation
19.11.2008	great tradition, communication, moralisation
24.06.2009	agency, mitigation, poetic language

Literaturnaia Gazeta features articles containing discourse about anglicisms in the late 1990s. The five articles from 1997 to 1999 all contain themes of moralisation and are strongly negative of the anglicisms. Literaturnaia Gazeta thus contains more material on anglicisms than the other publications under examination. This may be explained by the cultural and literary emphasis of the paper (although it has moved away from a purely literary focused, as stated above). Here, then, is one of the few sources of metadiscourse on anglicisms in the 1990s. In the early 2000s, the discourse diversifies, containing not only arguments using moralisation, but also

mitigating strategies, diffuse threats. The article of 12. 09. 2001 is written by a guest author, and strongly supports language change and freedom. At the bottom of the article, the reader finds an editorial disclaimer highlighting that the views in the article are the author's only and that it is not always advisable to use certain language, for example *mat*. The desire of the newspaper to distance itself from unorthodox views on linguistic norms forms part of the dominant prescriptive metadiscourse seeking to uphold norms. Although a challenging viewpoint is given room, it is ultimately undermined by the disclaimer. In the argumentation of articles in the 2000s, diffuse threat is perceived throughout, coupled with constructions of myth as Russian as a great tradition. Literaturnaia Gazeta features negative discourse about anglicisms throughout, even in the 1990s when other outlets either do not mention anglicisms much or argue against linguistic purism and restriction of anglicism usage.

4.5. Moskovskie Novosti

Moskovskie Novosti was established in 1930 as a newspaper for foreign specialists in the USSR. In 1980 it was published in Russia as a weekly newspaper aimed at educated audience (it had been published in foreign languages before). During perestroika, the paper became popular because of its liberal attitude, supporting Gorbachev's reforms (Oates 2006: 60); Nordenstreng & Pietiläinen 2010: 140). It belonged to the Israeli businessman Arkady Gaidamak, then changed ownership and became closer to the government (Skillen 2007: 1270). It went out of print in Russian in January 2008.

Table 22: Moskovskie Novosti

Date of publication	Argumentative strategies
06.07.1995	diffuse threat, authority (not about Russia)
12.03.1996	communication, mitigation
01.12.1998	literary text, humour but same metaphors of diffuse threat
25.06.2002	'yes, but' topos
23.06.2006	moralisation
11.08.2006	language = society, communication, diffuse threat, authority, legal measures, moralisation

Moskovskie Novosti features three articles containing metadiscourse on anglicisms in the 1990s. In 1995 and 1996 there is one article each. The 1995 article does not concern Russia, but deals with South America. Nevertheless the article uses widespread strategies in metadiscourse on foreignisms in Russia, invoking the authority of the state on linguistic matters. The dirt and fight metaphor is used, creating diffuse threat. In 1996, the point is made that communication might be endangered, but it is stated that anglicisms pose no threat. The article in 1998, written by the author Tolstaia, is not warning of danger, but it using the same metaphors as those that warn of danger. In the articles in the 2000s we find arguments about morality, metaphors of illness, the equation of language and society, and diffuse threat. In this publication, arguments of threat are found throughout, confirming the tendencies throughout the corpus.

4.6. Nezavisimaia Gazeta

Nezavisimaia Gazeta was founded in 1990 and was a radically new publication, setting new standards for reporting in Russia (Lovell 1996). Its chief editor Tretyakov insisted on giving full information and keeping independence, there was to be no centrally dictated, united opinion of the newspaper on any issue (Zassoursky 2004: 38). In 1995, the publication experienced financial catastrophe as the editor refused to give up any independence in exchange for sponsorship. After struggles over editorship, Tretyakov negotiated a deal with Berezovsky (Zassoursky 2004: 36). In 2005, the current owner, Remchukov, a former government advisor, bought the newspaper (Coalson 2007). It has a print run of 40000.

Table 23: Nezavisimaia Gazeta

Date of publication	Argumentative strategies
18.09.1993	Mitigation, diffuse danger
07.10.1995	great tradition, mitigation
24.02.1996	'yes, but' topos
02.03.1996	great tradition, agency, diffuse danger,
30.03.1996	great tradition, moralisation (reply to another article)

01.06.1997	mitigation, diffuse danger
05.07.1997	agency (reply to another article)
11.10.1997	national identity/integrity, diffuse threat (reply to another article)
04.12.1997	agency, diffuse danger, conflation speakers, authority, moralisation
17.03.2000	Western influence, addressing speakers
30.06.2000	great tradition, agency, language = society, diffuse danger
02.12.2000	agency, 'yes, but' topos, legal measures
09.10.2003	diffuse threat, Western influence, authority, moralisation, conflation speakers
19.02.2004	mitigation
13.10.2006	great tradition, yes but, authority, moralisation
08.11.2006	'yes, but' topos, mitigation
14.01.2009	agency, 'yes, but' topos, diffuse danger, authority, addressing speakers, ridicule/mitigation
14.01.2009	diffuse danger, national identity/integrity

Nezavisimaia Gazeta has 18 articles containing metadiscourse about anglicisms. Interestingly, in Nezavisimaia Gazeta there are many such articles in the 1990s, in comparison to other publications. The first articles, in 1993 and 1995, employ strategies of mitigation of danger. The three articles in 1996 feature the tropes of great literature and diffuse danger, and the topos of 'yes, but'. The four articles from 1997 all contain themes of diffuse threat, the latest calls for authority and contains strong moralising arguments. Also, two articles are replies to other articles, thus different viewpoints are given a platform. Even these different views, however, employ similar strategies of threat and the great tradition. Nezavisimaia Gazeta thus shows a coherent metadiscourse over time. The articles in the 2000s all cite diffuse danger and use varied argumentative strategies to support their opposition to language change. The rising volume of articles over time as well as the increased argumentation of threat reflect developments in the rest of the corpus.

4.7. Novaia Gazeta

Novaia Gazeta was founded in 1993. It is known for its investigative journalism and sharp criticism of the government. In 2009 it was published 3 times a week. Novaia Gazeta is owned by Mikhail Gorbachev and State Duma deputy Aleksandr Lebedev. It retains a highly critical investigative stance.

Table 24: Novaia Gazeta

Date of publication	Argumentative strategies
15.01.2001	authority, language = society, diffuse danger, France, legal measures
17.12.2001	language = society, national identity/integrity, authority
18.09. 2003	diffuse threat
26.07.2007	France

Novaia Gazeta only has four articles containing metadiscourse about anglicisms and language change. Two appear in 2001, one in 2007. Authority is cited in the early ones, language and the society are linked in the discourse. In the last one, France is held up as an example to follow. Language issues are not at the forefront of concern for this investigative newspaper, and the linking of language to nationbuilding of the regime further precludes language as a subject matter. Although language issues are hardly dealt with in this paper, when they are, the arguments constructing anglicisms and language change do not differ from other sources. That even this radical publication follows dominant metadiscourse shows once again how ingrained the linguistic culture is.

4.8. Ogonek

The magazine Ogonek “attracted the attention of the West as early as 1986, was soon hailed as one of the flagships of perestroika, and continued to draw comment until the 1990s.” (Lovell 1996: 989) Previously, the magazine had been nondescript; however, it had the potential to become suitable to serve a mass audience, a publication to unite citizens in Gorbachev’s cause (Lovell 1996: 990). Gorbachev therefore used Ogonek to launch his campaign of social reconstruction, and the magazine's cutting-edge revelations about the Soviet system were widely read. Ogonek reached a peak of popularity in 1990, but there were problems connected with Ogonek's registration as an independent publication in the same year. The state forced tough conditions and financial hardship on it (Lovell 1996: 994f; Zassoursky 2004). By 1993 the magazine's circulation had shrunk to 30000, 7% of the 1990 figure – as it was aiming for a broad audience, Ogonek was particularly vulnerable to the diversification of the press (Lovell 1996: 998). In 1994, Ogonek found sponsors

in the Berezovsky empire. It was now printed in Finland in much better quality, had slimmed down the format and changed into something more akin to Newsweek or Time Magazine (Beumers et al 2006: 21). At present, Ogonek belongs to the Kommersant publishing house.

Table 25: Ogonek

Date of publication	Argumentative strategies
16.02.1998	Agency, mitigation
27.01.2000	‘yes, but’ topos, Western influence
29.7.2002	authority, mitigation
14.02.2005	mitigation but metaphors of diffuse threat used, authority
5.12.2005	great tradition, language = society, Western influence, diffuse threat, humour, mitigation
13.2.2006	Western influence, diffuse threat

Ogonek features anglicisms six times, in 1998, 2000, 2002, 2005 and 2006. In the first article, anglicisms are not featured as a threat. Then in 2000, the topos of ‘yes, but’ is used and foreign ideas are warned against. In 2002 and 2005, influence from anglicisms is mitigated, but authority is invoked and metaphors of diffuse threat are used. The last article contains mitigation of threat, but the same metaphors are used as in articles that overtly perceive threat. The dominant metadiscourse of threat and mitigation of threat, creating tension and relying on authoritative figures or organisations and norms, is at work throughout metadiscourse found in Ogonek.

4.9. Pravda

Pravda used to be the Communist party organ and was a propaganda instrument writing the party line. It was shut down in 1991, but opened again by most of its editorial staff and operated under the same name, concentrating now on tabloid style news. From 1992 to 1996 Pravda was controlled by the Greek Yannikos businessmen. Afterwards until 2003 there was confusion – several publications with the name Pravda appeared. Pravda forms part of this corpus nonetheless because of the clear connection the various incarnations of the paper are trying to establish with the past.

Table 26: Pravda

Date of publication	Argumentative strategies
06.05.1997	sanctity/great tradition, moralisation
27.01.1999	great tradition, 'yes, but' topos, moralisation, mitigation, Western influence
30.06.2000	agency, great tradition, diffuse threat, 'yes, but' topos, Western influence
05.02.2004	great tradition, diffuse threat, transformation, Western influence
12.02.2004	France, moralisation
20.10.2006	great tradition, diffuse threat, language = society, moralisation, Western influence
27.03.2007	diffuse threat, legal measures

Pravda material is limited. The argumentative strategies used articles are, however, all similar. More than other sources, Pravda articles emphasize the Great tradition throughout. Pravda uses anti-capitalist discourse, also transforms Anna Akhmatova's poem about the siege of Leningrad into a statement on the Russian language in 2004. In 2006, when in other articles the word 'имидж' has already been cited as an example for a word that is legitimately borrowed, Pravda uses it as an example for words that should not be borrowed. In section 3.3.2.3. above, I showed that Pravda refers to Soviet discourses and expressions in relation to the West, utilising them to establish continuity with Soviet days. Taking into account the conservatism and communist bent of Pravda, this recursion to Soviet discourses and emphasis on the great tradition is not surprising.

4.10. Rossiiskaia Gazeta

Rossiiskaia Gazeta is a Russian government daily which publishes the official decrees, statements and documents of state bodies. It was founded by a decree of the Supreme Soviet and first appeared on 11 November 1990. Its function is to defend the interests of various government bodies, and is considered a bastion of conservatism (Zassoursky 2004: 191). Current circulation is at 179,550, according to its own website, and it ranks around the tenth most popular daily paper in most rankings.

Table 27: Rossiiskaia Gazeta

Date of publication	Argumentative strategies
19.01.1996	national identity/integrity, communication, conflation speakers
07.03.1996	authority, speaker group, ridicule, diffuse threat, morals, western influence
05.12.1996	France, conflation speakers, addressing speakers
18.01.2002	great tradition, diffuse threat, France
04.01.2003	great tradition, language = society
12.02.2003	language = society, diffuse threat
21.03.2003	authority
25.05.2006	national identity/integrity, Western influence, moralisation
25.07.2006	great tradition, authority
15.09.2006	great tradition
08.11.2006	diffuse danger
24.11.2006	agency, mitigation
27.02.2008	mitigation, France
16.04.2008	great tradition, diffuse threat, justification

Rossiiskaia Gazeta has 16 articles on language. Three articles in 1996 use powerful argumentative strategies to communicate the presence of threat, for example linking national unity and stability to language matters, addressing speakers, moralising and ridiculing strategies. Throughout the 2000s, the argument of the great tradition is cited almost in every article. Authority of linguists is invoked and diffuse danger constructed. The permanent framing of language issues as a threat may stem from Rossiiskaia Gazeta's direct affiliation with the government. In the 2000s with Putin's endeavours for national consolidation and building of the great tradition, arguments along those lines appear in Rossiiskaia Gazeta. In the metadiscourse of a governmental publication, this development is understandable. However, it must not be forgotten that this type of metadiscourse is present throughout outlets, as the analysis has shown.

4.11. Summary of comparison

The comparison of metadiscourse across time and publications gives three main results:

- There is vastly more material in the 2000s than the 1990s.

- In the 2000s there is a greater focus on the great tradition. In the 1990s, some outlets feature threatening discourse (e.g. Literaturnaia Gazeta), but in others, purism is rejected. Sources close to the government, such as Rossiskaia Gazeta, emphasise the Great Tradition more.
- The argumentative strategies are similar throughout time, and, importantly, across different publications. Even when language change is discussed as something neutral or positive, the argumentative strategies of framing language change are similar to the ones in articles that are openly negative.

Strategies of categorising language change in good and bad, and explaining mistakes to the readership, are especially pervasive. The appeal to norms, authority and the necessity to use the right kind of language make them language subordination strategies. Also, fear of the new can be detected, and group building of an in-group of good speakers, and an out-group of bad deviant ones.

Busch (2009: 55) shows that “discursive strategies in media can ... through metalinguistic discourses contribute to a climate in which language becomes a symbolic boundary towards the outside and a homogenising means towards the inside.” This is not confined to cases of several competing languages, but is also a factor in discourse about foreign elements in a particular language and the speakers who use them. Thus, in times of nation building initiatives and a creation of the Great Tradition, language becomes one of the contested factors. At such a time, argumentation that is used throughout is now instrumentalised to subordinate foreign elements.

5. Summary

Three related elements of discourse on foreignisms in Russian print media were analysed: The construction of the language, language change/anglicisms, and speakers. The analysis showed that the Russian language is mystified and also constructed as separate from the speakers, by emphasizing the great tradition and giving language agency. This mystification is achieved by portraying the history of the Russian language as a coherent tradition, where certain periods have been omitted: Knowledge about the consequences of linguistic processes at the time of

Peter the Great is presented as directly applicable to present times. Famous authors and national figures such as Pushkin are invoked to give universally valid advice on linguistic matters. Notably, these mythical figures and times can be used for any argument. As Milroy states, the requirement for a continuous history and respectable ancestry and purity are discursively compatible with statements that the language can enrich itself with borrowings – these seemingly contradictory statements can be incorporated into the same argument (Milroy 2001: 548f).

Language change and the appearance of anglicisms are constructed as threat with the help of a variety of arguments. The discourse argues that anglicisms bring a threat of miscommunication and lack of understanding, as well as threaten the disappearance of Russian altogether, and the disintegration of national values and the nation. As language debates are also closely connected to themes of national identity-building and consolidation, it could be assumed that questions of language hygiene appear mostly at times when issues of nation building become relevant.

The speakers are conflated into one group, authority is claimed over them, and errant speaker behaviour is vilified. Authority is claimed by justifying arguments by quoting and interviewing experts, mostly academic linguists. As well, speakers are suppressed or backgrounded in the discourse, whereas language itself is portrayed as active. Speakers are united in one community discursively, which is a powerful tool in both empowering and disempowering citizens. Ries (1997: 32) finds, apart from some linguistic elitism, “a widely expressed assertion not only that the language belongs to (and is enriched by) all who speak it, but also, reflexively, that being a speaker means one is included in a special kind of national community”. This statement concerns language behaviour and linguistic culture during perestroika, so about more relaxed language norms and new modes of talking when new linguistic liberties were introduced. But also, it is exactly this creation of the special kind of community that makes the commonsense argumentation work, because it appeals to speakers as belonging to the same community. It constructs a public of sensible speakers who have duties towards something great. Any aberration from what is

constructed as the sensible natural norm is argued to be morally wrong and constitutes a threat to national security.

With these strategies, the desirable status quo is upheld even by those authors who proclaim to welcome change. As any ideology, purism is at work in the language debate particularly when it is hidden behind commonsense argumentation. Thomas' commonly cited working definition of linguistic purism is "the manifestation of a desire on the part of a speech community (or some section of it) to preserve a language from, or to rid it of, putative foreign elements or other elements held to be undesirable (including those originating in dialects, sociolects and styles of the same language). It may be directed at all linguistic levels, but primarily the lexicon. Above all, purism is an aspect of the codification, cultivation and planning of standard languages." (1991:12) All these elements are found in Russian post-Soviet discourse on foreignisms. Purism excludes outside elements seen as detrimental – the outside elements and those who use them are subjected to subordination argumentation.

Considering again the schemata supplied by Preston and Lippi-Green (2.2., also chapter 3, 2.2.), many parallels can be detected. Preston's schema of folk language perception shows that language is considered as a hierarchical structure, with good language 'above' ordinary language which features errors. This view has been evoked in the discourse throughout accompanied by arguments of diffuse fear and threat. Authority over linguistic matters is given to traditional gatekeepers such as academics, officials, and legislators. The mass of ordinary speakers are not given rights, but duties – to love and respect Russian. Crucially, the threats mentioned in the discourse are at the same time both stark – the language will disappear, communication cease, society disintegrate – and nebulous; it is not clear how the language will disappear. However, because the threat is described as imminent, specialists in the field as well as traditional sources of authority (government) and sources of cultural capital (respected authors from the canon of national literature) must be obeyed by speakers.

Turning to Lippi-Green's framework of language subordination of AAVE, it is clear that many elements of language subordination can also be found in the discourse on anglicisms in Russian: Language is mystified and portrayed as removed from the speakers, a pure entity. Authority is claimed for linguists, legislators and educated people. The use of anglicisms is derided. The use of so-called 'proper' language is praised, whereas use of anglicisms is linked directly to threats to the society as a whole, and those who use them are vilified. However, there are differences, such as the use of diffuse threat in the Russian discourse on foreignisms.

The following is an application of Lippi-Green's framework of language subordination to the Russian discourse on anglicisms, with examples:

- Language is mystified
Russian is an ancient, beautiful language with a long history. Russian is being mistreated by you, the ungrateful speakers, but will survive because it is great and mighty, and has many resources.
- Authority is claimed
Academic linguists know the rules of correct language and must be listened to. The government must exercise their authority to legislate language to restore order.
- Misinformation is generated
The usage you are so attached to will ruin the Russian language and potentially make it disappear. The variant we prefer is superior on historical, aesthetic, and logical grounds.
- Non-mainstream language is trivialized
Superfluous Anglicisms in Russian, and those who use them, are ridiculous.
- Certain instances of the usage in question are held up as positive examples
Words that have no equivalent in Russian are useful and permissible.
- Threats are made
Russian will disappear. Your fellow citizens will not understand you. National values will disintegrate.
- Non-conformers are vilified or marginalised
Those misusing anglicisms have character flaws and spread chaos and confusion. They must be punished.
(modelled on Lippi-Green 1997: 68)

Lippi-Green's framework holds most true for the discourse on anglicisms in Russian in the importance it gives to the mystification of language. Preston too states that mystification and the spreading of misinformation about language is a key element of folk linguistic discourse. Elsewhere, though, Russian media discourse on foreignisms

shows differences compared to the strategies outlined by Lippi-Green. In particular, Lippi-Green does not mention the stark separation of language and speakers found in the Russian discourse, and the appearance of diffuse threats. Both Preston and Lippi-Green discuss the separation of language and speakers, but do not allocate it the significance it holds in the Russian discourse on anglicisms.

Although Lippi-Green's framework contains the strategy of threats, she focuses on explicit, tangible threats (e.g. speakers of the maligned variety will not find employment) rather than the diffuse threat found in my analysis. Ultimate consequences – the disappearance of Russian – are presented in stark terms, but the processes that will lead to the disappearance are left unclear. I consider the use of diffuse threat as a powerful strategy of language subordination, as it effectively leaves the linguistic elite in charge to tell the uniform group of all speakers what rules they must follow. Threat and mitigation of threat is a common strategy in language discourse. Johnson (2005: 158) sees a “contradiction inherent in so much popular discourse on language: the trivialisation of language-related issues, on the one hand, a process that is none the less diametrically opposed to the intensity and vehemence of concern, on the other”. The diffuse threat can also be explained in terms of linguistic intergroup bias (see e.g. Maass et al 1996). According to the linguistic intergroup bias theory, the positive actions of the in-group and the negative actions of the out-group are portrayed in an abstract manner. On the other hand, the negative actions of the in-group and the positive actions of the out-group – the actions that are de-emphasised – are framed in concrete terms. Abstract discourse suggests that the object of discussion is accepted as universal fact, as the status quo – the in-group's default position is good, the out-group defaults to negative. Specific incidents of positive out-group action can be mentioned concretely, as they only serve as examples of isolated incidents in the face of the overwhelming majority of abstract negative elements. Thus, the posing of language change as a diffuse threat makes it a universal threat, whereas positive features of anglicisms can be named concretely (e.g. that no equivalent for a particular word exists). Here again the ideological square framework of ‘Us’ VS ‘Other’ representation applies as well. The all-pervading negative threat of the outsiders is foregrounded, whereas specific mentioning of positive aspects of language change do little to detract.

Furthermore, even mild and reasonable sounding arguments have been shown to espouse the same basic concepts, that Russian is great and under threat. Other scholars of purism in other languages have not considered this unity and instead have seen difference. Gardt (2000) distinguishes between linguistic nationalism and linguistic patriotism. Linguistic patriotism he terms as praise of one's own language, 'the' language as a unified whole with identifiable, positive attributes, the equation of the language with other entities, namely the culture and the people. He conceives linguistic patriotism to be quite positive. Linguistic nationalism on the other hand is more extreme, and largely unacceptable, and goes as far as denigrating foreign languages, cultures, and political systems (Gardt 2000: 247ff). A similar difference is found for example in a reader letter: "Но ведь кроме ура-патриотов, кроме записных патриотов, профессиональных патриотов есть еще и просто патриоты, "просто" культурные люди, любящие свою страну и свой язык". (Izvestiia 5, 11.08.2001) However, as my analysis has shown, many arguments that are purist are masquerading as liberal arguments and seem reasonable to speakers. Those holding commonsense attitudes do not see them as ideologically loaded or discriminating, according to them anyone can learn the 'correct' way, and appeals to common sense imply that discussion is superfluous – thus alternate viewpoints can be suppressed outright (Milroy 2001: 535). Language functions as a means to transmit ideological messages so well because language is common to every speaker and is an area where every native speaker is an expert. Appealing to the common knowledge and common sense of the speaking community is therefore an easy method to elevate one's ideological position over other views, and persuade one's audience to adopt it. Commonsense arguments are thus used to espouse a particular ideology: that speakers have no power and that authority must be followed, otherwise national and societal structures will disintegrate.

Conclusion

The multifaceted metadiscourse in the print media as shown in this work takes a mostly conservative stance towards language change and the proliferation of anglicisms. The concluding part of this work picks up the strands of my argument, summarising in particular the following central findings.

Firstly, writing on anglicisms, regardless of the opinion on language change expressed, upheld a continuous discourse of diffuse but acute threat and mitigation of threat that puts speakers in a passive position. The first section of this conclusion sums up the strategies of threat construction and defusion of threat that pervade the discourse. The construction of vague threat with simultaneous reassurance that linguistic changes are natural is an important device in establishing a common sense, hegemonic idea of language. In that section I also show what elements of the linguistic culture are drawn upon to serve the construction of threat and authority.

The second major finding concerns the development of metadiscourse over time. The argumentation in metadiscourse on anglicisms stayed more constant than expected. The uniform nature of the metadiscourse applies both chronologically and across different publications: Whenever anglicisms are mentioned, the assumptions regarding language and language change are strikingly similar. This somewhat unexpected result is discussed in section 2.

Finally, an overarching finding of my research is that the values ascribed to language remain the same no matter who argues. The nominalist and realist models of language, explained in the introduction, still operate within the linguistic culture. They make use of the argumentation of threat, particularly when linking language and the nation, and can also be combined in the argumentation.

Apart from summing up these debates and their workings, a significant part of the conclusion looks at how the debate is developing currently in the online sphere and new media, and what light this sheds on the print media results. While the introduction (5.1.) explained that online metadiscourse was not suitable as the sole source of data for analysis due to the patchy reach of the internet in post-Perestroika

Russia, looking at online metadiscourse on foreignism now can throw the findings of this thesis into relief and indicate new areas for study of metadiscourse. The internet is ever more widely accessed in Russia, and its impact on human life is undisputed, as it reaches into all areas of existence. Whether the language debates online continue the print media tradition or pose alternative narratives of language processes can reveal how the language debate might develop in future as well as show areas for possible future language ideology research. I have conceived of the readership of the print media articles as a public. The articles are written for an imagined readership that is conceived of as a homogenous group, but is not a real, defined group. The notion of public is not reliant on concrete readership or audience, but on the projection or imagination of groups in print or other mass media (Gal & Woolard 1995: 135). What this readership is meant to be like and what knowledge they are presupposed to possess shows dominant trends in the linguistic culture and the culture in general. By examining language debate on anglicisms in online media in relation to the print media debate, the conclusion considers the intertextual, hybrid nature of language debates. Establishing whether the internet has changed the discourse or whether it poses an alternative outlet helps to sum up the argumentative strategies found in the print media and can give clues as to how the metadiscourse might develop in the Russian public sphere.

The following research questions were posed in the introduction:

- What ideologies can be detected in statements on language change and anglicisms? What elements from the linguistic culture are instrumentalised in the debate? Who are the powerful actors in this debate and who is backgrounded?
- How has the debate changed over 20 years in the press? Can anglicisms debates be linked to social events and political surrounding?
- What values of language are propounded and what can these values reveal about the culture at the time?

This conclusion addresses the answers to the three groups of questions in turn, followed by a short comparison with online sources and suggestions for future research.

1. Ideologies and authority in metadiscourse

The metadiscourse usually positions particular individuals or organisations or even language itself as the authoritative, regulatory agent in language change. In every scenario, speakers are expected to comply with the rules made either by scholars, codifying bodies, or the language itself.

1.1. Common sense: Negative judgments of language change AND purism

The negative judgment of purism itself at all times contributes to the authoritative entextualisation of language issues. The construction of common sense is a crucial ingredient in the metadiscourse. In order to demonstrate that their own demands on language issues are mild and reasonable, the authors set up a picture of purists whom they denounce as mad extremists. This strategy masks any purist, anti-foreignisms thought of their own and appeals to the common sense of speakers. By conceding that some changes and some anglicisms are good and asserting that they are in principle supportive of language change, the producers of the articles claim *carte blanche* to pour scorn on particular words and linguistic behaviour, because they only apply reasonable common sense. Articles set up a distinction between the bad purists and the good arbiters of taste and ‘real’ Russianness with strategies such as the use of the ‘yes, but’ topos, as the following examples show.

“Живой язык не может не заимствовать. В чем же тогда состоит проблема? В мере. Важно, чтобы количество новых элементов не превышало критической точки, чтобы они не подавили элементы системообразующие” (*Nezavisimaia Gazeta* 32, 14.01.2009)

“Любой язык изменяется, обновляется, обогащается. Но во всем должны быть логика, здравый смысл, чувство меры.” (Argumenty i Fakty 3, 25th June 2003)

The topos of ‘yes, but’ is underlined by question and answer (В чем же тогда состоит проблема? В мере.). Using the question-and-answer device constructs a dialogue with the author explaining to the reader. The justification of the argument is given in technical terms: a critical point must not be reached, so as not to jeopardize the system (превышало критической точки, чтобы они не подавили элементы системообразующие). Pseudo-scientific language (количество новых элементов не превышало критической точки) intensifies the point and clarifies why there must be a good measure – because otherwise the system itself is at risk. I showed in chapter 2 that the construction of commonsense arguments is imperative in the working of language ideology. Creation of common sense was found in texts throughout the corpus, upholding a universal hegemonic view of what language is like and what it should be used for. The facts and knowledge from the linguistic culture that the metadiscourse draws on are used to persuade the audience that they share this knowledge and the argument is therefore self-explanatory and commonsensical.

1.2. Construction of a timeline, historical periods

Material from the linguistic culture is used in metadiscourse on anglicisms to create continuity and justify one's position on anglicisms. Periods like Petrine times, and authors of literary classics are ascribed importance, as today's linguistic developments are compared to past times to justify the author's argument. The following examples show this comparison:

“Сейчас, в период невиданной перетряски и расширения лексики, сравнимой с петровскими временами...” (Izvestiia 5, 11.08.2001)

“Мы сейчас переживаем что-то вроде второй Петровской эпохи, когда англицизмы начинают играть такую же роль, какую тогда играли слова из французского, немецкого, голландского языков. Это отсеется.” (Izvestiia 6, 17.04.2002)

Strategies of constructing a timeline and using vagueness are used. The comparison, signalled by *сравнимой*, forms part of the strategy to construct a timeline, and using the adjective makes this comparison obvious. The vagueness of the adverbial phrase and particle (*что-то вроде*) contributes to mythmaking, as myth does not rely on facts, but benefits from opaque relationships of processes. Citing past periods endows the argument with authority. The negative coverage of anglicisms and purism and the authority on language matters given to individuals or historical periods are contributing to a discourse of threat and speaker passivity.

The metadiscourse also finds historical precedents and rolemodels in classical Russian literature, as chapter 5, 3.2.1.2. shows. Especially the figure of Alexander Pushkin as the main authority on the literary Russian language is used to argue for or against language change. Furthermore, Turgenev's famous quotation on the great and mighty (*великий и могучий*) Russian language, discussed in chapter 5, 3.2.1.2., is a key term in language debates. The discursive construction of a common heritage is also evident in texts that use Soviet tropes and imagery to create a Panslavic space where Russian is the first language (see chapter 5, 3.3.2.3.). In sum, argumentative strategies using elements from the linguistic culture and history foreground narratives of a shared, great history that must be respected. Thus, authority over speakers is created who must respect the shared history.

1.3. Authority

The first research question asked who the powerful actors in metadiscourse are, and who is backgrounded. Overall, the results of the analysis shows that the construction of authority is a central component of metadiscourse, and that speakers are always put in a passive position, throughout time and different publications. In the print media from 1992 onwards, the use of foreignisms is evaluated by foregrounding certain individuals, historical periods and locations in the debate. Politicians are quoted; linguists are interviewed and given authority (chapter 5, 3.4.1.2.). The consultation of linguistic experts is a device to perpetuate a hegemonic discourse. Ideological messages are conveyed with their help, as Blommaert states: “The struggle for authoritative entextualization involves ideology brokers: categories of

actors who ... can claim authority in the field of debate.” (Blommaert 1999: 9) The academic titles and affiliations feature in prominent positions, which invests their statements with authoritative qualifications and tying their statement to social positions (Milani 2007: 109). The online debate echoes this tendency. On social networking sites in particular, authority figures are recognised by simply linking to their articles in newspapers and commenting favourably.

1.4. Threat

1.4.1. Construction of threat

Throughout the data examined, the print media metadiscourse constructs anglicisms and language change as a threat, whilst defusing the threat at the same time. It is clear from the summaries of both chapter 4 and chapter 5 that the construction of threat is a major aspect of the metadiscourse concerning foreignisms. This strategy contributes to justify figures of authority over language and supports the strict adherence to norms. Threat is for example expressed by metaphor scenarios of illness and death, or flooding and natural disaster, or of violence and war (chapter 4). Interestingly, such metaphor scenarios are set up even when the article in question is aiming to reassure that language change is natural and harmless. The reassurance offered hinges on action in the metaphor scenarios. For example, illness may be cured and a dirty landscape can be cleaned. Russian is conceived of as a landscape that is polluted and littered, where sources of clean water are scarce. Common group knowledge about cleaning means that the cleaning process, and thus the resistance to anglicisms, does not have to be elaborated. A common sense is achieved – an object or space must be clean and tidy to be of use, but why this is important as regards language does not enter the scenario because it is considered self-explanatory. At the same time, the threat remains because details and specific end results of the improvement are not given.

The nature metaphors analysed in chapter 4 stress the inevitability and catastrophic scale of anglicisms, flooding the landscape of Russian, here no reassurance is given at all. The flood metaphor, one of the most widespread metaphor scenarios, does not

offer a solution but portrays the language as helpless in the face of a mass of anglicisms flooding in. The threats are presented as grave and dangerous to the integrity of Russian and also the Russian nation. At the same time, they are also diffuse and only vaguely defined, and this vagueness is crucial to understanding how the construction of threat operates and what effect it has. For example, the metaphors of language illness are immediately understandable to the recipient – illness is bad and must be combated – but the details of how illness of language looks like, what effect it might have, and how in detail it can be eradicated is left vague. The same applies to metaphors of flooding. While the immediate effect of this metaphor scenario relies on the implication of a flooded landscape and disaster, it is not explained how the flooding harms the language. The metaphor scenarios ultimately infer that speakers must obey the rules and follow instructions from those in authority about these matters, including the authors of the articles themselves who are acting as gatekeepers and institutionalised authority. Media strategies of sensationalisation may account for part of the threatening metaphor scenarios, used to make stories about language change more interesting and accessible. The metaphors, especially entrenched metaphors, also show common ways of framing abstract processes.

1.4.2. Mitigating and defusing the threat

The metadiscourse in both print and online media features several strategies to diffuse the threat of anglicisms: Categorisation into good and bad ones, ridicule and personal attack. Importantly, the threat constructed is not only diffuse, but is also negated at the same time in the discourse. Chapter 5 contains many examples of this strategy. For example, the ‘yes, but’ topos is used to set up a threat of a critical level of anglicisms, but on the other hand, episodes from history (such as Peter the Great) are referred to in order to show that the language was in no danger then either (chapter 5, 3.2.1.1.). Also, figures of classic Russian literature are cited to show that the language is strong and able to survive any outside influences unscathed. Mythmaking about the adaptable character of language and the enrichment and

natural selection of foreignisms plays a significant role in negating that any problems exist, as was shown.

Print media contributions and online discussions advocate discretion in the use of anglicisms and recognising when they are 'justified' and when not. This typical stance of 'common sense' advice, also discussed above, presupposes a community who know what the naturally logical rules are (Simons 2010; van Dijk 1998: 260). The metadiscourse uses ridicule by imitating an imaginary person using anglicisms, as a strategy of language subordination:

“"Мы позиционируем свой бренд в секторе хай-мидл-класса", - говорит в одном рекламном ролике молодой менеджер, озабоченный продажами дорогого кофе... Что сказать-то хотел, мужик? Чтобы докопаться до смысла, нужно перевести фразу на нормальный русский. Но... ведь так выражаются нынче многие - и на телеэкране, и в жизни." (Izvestiia 11, 01.11.2006)

The example dismantles the foreign words as unnecessary by ridicule. The author uses the device of a mock dialogue, ridiculing a speaker who uses anglicisms by feigning misunderstanding and calling him мужик, a word with demotic, familiar overtones. Such metadiscourse aims to establish who has authority over language issues by splitting speakers up into good and bad speakers.

The simultaneous mitigation and upholding of threat is found in other print media discourses as well: "The print media's role in this cultural strategy is ambivalent; it strives to defuse and contain the threat ... even as it fans the flames, heightening this threat in order to sell more newspapers." (Bielby 2008: 10) In the language debate, the defusing and containment of the threat is carried out by providing a hegemonic explanation of the problems of language change, and giving unspecific solutions. An authoritative narrative of language change and what to do about it is created.

Whether the threat is mitigated as manageable or upheld as a grave danger, the speakers are cast in a passive role. The only action open to speakers is obedience to authority – whether the authoritative status of language itself, or officially codified norms, or authoritative individuals such as the scholars cited in metadiscourse. The threat and its containment also create a state of uncertainty on the side of the viewer

and a need for explanation from the authoritative sources, the media texts themselves.

Narratives of threat in metadiscourse facilitate arguments for moral superiority of those observing linguistic norms. Jaworski et al (2004: 87) find that much metadiscourse describes a David-and-Goliath situation where the good speakers, under grave threat from harmful outside elements, win out against the overwhelming danger because they are morally superior and thus more valuable and stronger. This basic type of narrative is found throughout the discourse, even when purism is overtly condemned. In any discourse on language, whether it is propagating openness or exclusion of foreignisms, authority is set up and enforced by common sense. Speakers who do not adhere to either the changing of norms, or to the norms per se, are portrayed as morally inferior outsiders. In this judgmental metadiscourse, the actions of outsiders are portrayed vaguely. Van Dijk's framework of the ideological square explains that portraying actions as vague can make them seem self-evident, general knowledge that does not need to be proven (chapter 3, 4.2.). Diffuse threat thus functions both to construct accepted knowledge and to convince readers of the need for authority figures to give linguistic norms.

2. Metadiscourse over time

2.1. Consistencies in argumentation

The second research question, on the development of the debate, has been answered in unexpected ways. The metadiscourse shows remarkable consistency as regards the treatment of anglicisms in the 1990s and 2000s. The reactions to foreign words differ throughout time, but the argumentative strategies used show unexpected consistencies. In the early 1990s, very few articles concerning anglicisms are found. I argued in chapter 5 that the inherent lack of newsworthiness of language issues may be a factor, especially when compared to the huge political changes that were uppermost on journalists' agendas. Critical views of language change simply were not given a platform beyond niche publications. The newly borrowed words, names

and concepts were used and adopted readily, albeit in conjunction with older form, and in unexpected combinations. Many reactions just comment on the novelty of the words or seek to explain them in text. But where anglicisms are thematised, negative sentiment towards borrowings is found. At the same time, there is definite negativity about purism and drives to rid the language of foreignisms, sometimes in very vitriolic form. The articles state that purism is bad and the language should be free, or they ridicule those striving to pass legislation about language.

The negativity both towards purism but also about foreign words is also found across outlets, as the summary of chapter 5 showed. This consistency means predictions as to the development of metadiscourse must be revisited. I had postulated that in times of openness there would be positive reactions towards anglicisms, but in times of openness, there are very few reactions, and those are negative. It might be the case that foreign borrowing was viewed positively but not thematised much, because other topics were deemed more important and also because anglicisms were perceived as an unproblematic linguistic development. This may have precluded a need to write about them. The negative reactions towards anglicisms found throughout, even when authors proclaim to support language change, point at a fundamental consensus on processes of linguistic change.

A change in the metadiscourse, however, is found in the portrayal of purism. In the early to mid 1990s, anti-purist discourse condemned any efforts to restrict language change and denounced such efforts as purist and harmful to the language. Later on, towards the 2000s and until now, purism is still condemned, but the goalposts have shifted. The boundaries and character of linguistic purism has been redefined. This redefinition in language attitudes is connected to general social tendencies, as language attitudes stand proxy for other issues: “Language attitudes stand proxy for a much more comprehensive set of social and political attitudes, including stances strongly tinged with authoritarianism, but often presented as 'common sense'.”

(Milroy & Milroy 1999: 45f) In the 1990s articles that reject purism, *any* intervention in language change and linguistic behaviour is subsumed under the label of purism. Metadiscourse in the 2000s still proclaimed itself as resolutely anti-purist, but the linguistic purism described in those articles is an extremist straw construct.

On the whole, following the change in presidency in 2000, there is more metadiscourse on anglicisms in the 2000s, which coincides with a drive for state consolidation. As well, the metadiscourse in the 2000s permits more language policy measures that in the 1990s counted as puristic and were reviled. However, the changes in metadiscourse could not be linked explicitly to particular political events and changes. Further research should focus on this link, as I describe below in section 5.

3. Nominalist and realist models of language today

In the introduction, the distinction between different types of linguistic complaints was explained. Milroy and Milroy (1999: 31f) distinguish between two types of language complaints: Complaints of type 1 concern correctness, perceived misuse of grammar, phonology and vocabulary, whereas complaints of type 2 cover moralistic aspects, clarity, effectiveness, and honesty of communication. These types can be combined, and have been combined in the metadiscourse on foreignisms. The different complaints also recall the nominalist and realist models of language – language either for communication (so it must be used correctly) or as the expression of the national characteristics (so it must be used morally correctly). The threat constructed in the metadiscourse is painting a picture of the language potentially disappearing (e.g. in metaphor scenarios of illness and death) or being unfit for communication (see chapter 5, 3.3.2.1.). Similarly, foreignisms are blamed for the diminished ability of the Russian language to express the character of Russianness properly any longer – its richness has been taken away according to some accounts, and its character is irrevocably altered. These two types of threat recall the nominalist and realist positions laid out in the introduction. The metadiscourse on foreignisms amalgamates both positions into one or links them together in arguments. Geeraerts categorises metaphorical expressions of language into two models: rationalist and romantic (2003: 35). The rationalist model considers language as a neutral tool for communication and aiming for a common standard language. This approach, according to Geeraerts, now appears suspect, but the

existence of a legitimate standard language is taken as given in folklinguistic discourse. The realist model, on the other hand, considers language a means for expression of the national character, embodying its speakers' communal mentality and culture. Linguistic purism can be grounded in this romantic model: The defence of the language is considered to protect the cultural identity of the group of speakers. Gasparov (2003: 132) agrees that according to Romantic thought on language in Russia, language retains fundamental characteristics expressive of national character. The important connector between the two traditions is nationalism: Nationalism can be supported both by making language a tool for communication and infrastructure within the nation, and by stating that the language is inextricably bound up with the nation. Studies linking language and national character are proliferating in Russia now, as the introduction showed, and language is a criterion defining what it means to be Russian. The Russian language is considered a unifying force – in this discourse, traces of imperial and Soviet thought on language are evident (Tolz 1995: 998). Such arguments prevail whether the metadiscourse in principle tolerates anglicisms or whether a stringent language policy against them is suggested. Thus, an image of Russian as a strong, unifying force carrying the essence of the nation and also serving as a tool for communicating and group building is upheld throughout. This image of language is not endangered by any argument.

Two views on the Russian language gained currency in the 19th century: firstly an image of Russian as a formal, unchangeable, holy system; on the other hand the view of Russian as primarily the natural, real language of the people and folklore. Thought emerging from both traditions is represented in the metadiscourse on foreignisms. Again a link to authority is established: Current argumentation strategies utilise these traditions to establish authority over speakers, who are exhorted to follow what is decreed from above. Such discourse puts the speaker in a position of passivity and duty and does not allow for creativity in language change. The introduction stated that the quiet conservatism of practitioners subverted the radical ideas of language culture in the 1920s into a policy that supported the adherence of norms. In the 2000s, a similar process can be observed. The new speech freedoms and widespread language changes are accepted in principle, but participants in language debates

demand that there must be some rules. Such statements can be found even in the online sphere, where traditional speech norms do not automatically apply, as participants strive to assert that they know the rules.

Drawing on discourses of understanding and using language as a tool for communication, many of the reactions to anglicisms focus on understanding what an anglicism means and understanding one another. Fear that speakers will no longer understand each other and communication will cease is expressed in many of the texts. The danger of lack of understanding is supported by comparative constructions, and topoi of hard data, family relations, and national language for the nation:

“наш с вами "великий и могучий" стремительно становится все труднее для понимания.” (Argumenty i Fakty 4, 04.02. 2004)
“Язык меняется с такой скоростью, что у дедушек фактически нет единого коммуникационного канала с внуками.” (Moskovskie Novosti 8, 11.08.2006)

The language is described as becoming harder to understand (стремительно становится все труднее для понимания). The description of the process is intensified by стремительно and constructed as an agent-less, unstoppable process (становится). The comparative, together with все, signals that the process will not have an endpoint, but continue indefinitely. The language is here also called наш с вами "великий и могучий", in a conversational tone that recalls the Turgenev aphorism and also constructs the writer and audience as a unified group. The topos of family relations shows the severity of the situation as communication between members of a family breaks down (у дедушек фактически нет единого коммуникационного канала с внуками). The family is here portrayed as the unit of social cohesion, the foundation of society. Thus, discourses of language as a common tool for communication and as a possession of the group are continued.

“Количество коммуникативных трудностей ... в эпоху подобных динамических сдвигов значительно увеличивается и осложняет процессы социального, политического строительства, обостряет внутриобщественные конфликты, наконец, мешает элементарному взаимопониманию.” (Izvestiia 14, 07.08.2007)

“Надо четко понимать, что разрушение правил общения на русском языке приводит к нарушению функционирования общества.” (Moskovskie Novosti 8, 11.08.2006)

The argument in the above examples links language and national communication, equating linguistic breakdown with social communication breakdown.

To summarise the values ascribed to language, no matter what argument, speakers are described as having a duty to obey linguistic authority. This authority is, according to the metadiscourse, inherent in language itself, as the Great Tradition must be respected. Furthermore, the construction of common sense adds the argument that following rules is the only natural, reasonable course of action. However, the construction of common sense and the Great Tradition hide the fact that prescriptions on language are made by people and that speakers are disempowered. The number of articles dealing with anglicisms rose in the 2000s, which is connected to political change, as Putin placed emphasis on language policy and initiatives (see above), when Russian was increasingly instrumentalised as a marker for national cohesion and group construction (Ryazanova-Clarke 2006b: 50). Ascribing such values to languages can point at general tendencies for valuing authority and order in society as a whole, whereas in the 1990s metadiscourse some reactions are found that argue against any regulation and instead support using language as speakers wish. Future research in this area can build on these findings to throw more light on the connection between political events and metadiscourse, as I outline below in section 5.

4. Argumentative strategies in online metadiscourse

Examples of online discourse examined (see appendix 2 for a list of examples) show similarities to print media discourse in the setting up of authority and the construction of threat, but the methods are different, for example the online discourse relies on strongly emotive arguments to build in- and out-groups. In online media we

find the same predilection for authority figures and precedents that the print media features.

“Между прочим, твой прекрасный язык классики 19 столетия уже был полон заимствований, англицизмов и жаргонизмов. :))))” (Online source 1)

This example uses the argumentation that anglicisms are no threat because classical Russian literature of the 19th century, upheld as a shining example of great language, also contains foreignisms. Such mitigation of threat is also achieved by posing language as a live, independent being that can take care of itself. This concept is a crucial ingredient of print media metadiscourse (chapter 5, 3.2.1.4.).

“несколько заимствованных словечек не угрожают его существованию
Вспомните сколько в русском языке заимствований из французского и немецкого. И ничего, жив язык. А то, что язык меняется это нормально - значит он живой.” (Online source 2)

Several strategies are discernible in this example. Firstly, threat is mitigated by use of a quantifier and the diminutive (несколько заимствованных словечек) to argue that the words are insignificant and non-threatening. Then, readers are appealed to (Вспомните) in a reminder that the language is alive and therefore will always borrow words. In this example, threat is mitigated, but the presupposition that a threat can potentially exist is intact.

The online language debate also features a continued drive for language as a carefully calibrated tool for understanding, as seen also below in statements of users proving they understand certain words. Such discourses, both online and in print, refer back to old nominalist discourses of language as a resource for understanding. In online metadiscourse, similar drives for understanding and functioning communication are found in both official and unofficial sources. For example, the officially endorsed language website www.gramota.ru and other communities (e.g. “Pishu Pravil’no” on *LiveJournal*) feature many discussions on spelling and meaning. Emphasis is placed on the functionality of the language; participants stress that it must be a handy tool for everyone.

“нужны ... меры, которые позволяют развиваться инициативе компетентных людей, которые должны обслуживать языковую инфраструктуру нашего общества» (Online source 10)

By categorising anglicisms in good and bad, authority over linguistic matters is assumed by the author. Like newspaper articles, online contributions give examples of anglicisms that are deemed good or bad, but the online discourse asks questions of its audience and invites comment. Online contributors explain to others when and how anglicisms are to be used:

“Англицизмы ... можно грубо разделить на три группы:

- можно: англицизмы, достаточно широко распространённые и не имеющие удобных аналогов в русском языке;
- нельзя: англицизмы, имеющие достаточно компактные и однозначные аналоги в русском языке;
- пиздец: англицизмы, образующие омонимы.”

(Online source 3)

“вместо прекрасного великого и могучего вставлены англицизмы. Ну вот скажите, почему "митинг" вместо "встреча"?” (Online source 4)

This sort of questioning and judgment is not as overt in print media discourse, although in print media emotive discourse addressing the readers is also used (chapter 5, 3.4.3.1.). As shown above, in print media, authors comment on an anglicism they or someone else used and assess whether the use is justified. The same occurs in online media:

“напрягают замучившие англицизмы типа "винтажный", "девайс" "подкаст""сонишоп".Это еще можно переносить в личной беседе,но в эфире...”

- а как ещё можно назвать подкаст, если они собственно его и записывают? Радио передача? Ну глупо же!
- Уважаемый,глупо не уметь подыскать в богатейшем родном языке необходимое слово. ... " я зашел в сонишоп,там я хэв боут маленький девайс. Вааау!” (Online source 5)

This discussion, taken from the comments on a podcast, uses positive words such as богатейший родной язык and antimiranda like замучившие and глупо. Frequently,

reactions of dislike in the online sphere are expressed in emotional, non-standard language. Emotional responses, rejection and ridicule are a common feature in reactions on language contact (Winford 2003: 1); but they are particularly prevalent in online discourse. Facilitated by the anonymous nature of online communication, especially on forums and blogs, attacks on other participants are rife.

”Блять, вы русские или нет? Зачем писать "omg"?”

”zomg, za n00b here! omg ftw!”

”Мудачок, что такое omg я знаю ... Крутой типо сразу если на английском пишешь? Как дети, ей Б-гу...” (Online source 6)

“вообще я могу (и делаю это на работе, например) писать АБСОЛЮТНО грамотно без каких-либо напрягов — а здесь интернет, мне относительно похую”
(Online source 7)

Participants strive to demonstrate their knowledge of English internet jargon and vie to establish control over the discussion. Dismay at the usage of the common acronym ‘omg’ in Russian is ridiculed by the second commenter by describing the commenter using another such term (n00b), denoting someone who is new, inexperienced and does not know the rules. In this informal linguistic environment, adherence and knowledge of the rules and the correct way of speaking are nonetheless important. This is also shown by the gruff reaction of the first participant, who asserts in no uncertain terms that they know the meaning of the term. The second example features a clear statement that the author knows the rules (могу ... писать АБСОЛЮТНО грамотно), emphasised by capitals, but chooses not to apply them online. In online media, participants play with language and share jokes about language change. Some participants, for example, use English words, written in Cyrillic, when berating someone for speaking English:

“уоц э факин щит, сака. шат ап энд спик рашн фак” (Online source 9)

This joking again shows that the user can speak English, but knows when to do so, and that now is not the right time. Participants in online discourse strive to show knowledge of the rules and insist that their language use is based on personal preference. Personal experiences of language change and personal opinion are emphasised.

In print media discourse, on the contrary, the purely personal experience of the author is not in the focus: Instead, a group of sensible speakers who know how to behave is constructed, for example by referring to the group as ‘we’ (chapter 5, 3.4.2.1.). The online sphere lets individuals express their opinion in a personal way and invite opinions of others. The implication of the above examples of online discourse is that obviously one knows how to speak properly, after all there are rules, and the internet has its own rules. Authority over linguistic matters are conceptualised similarly in the online sphere and the print media – the in-group of good speakers know the rules, and people who do not speak like them belong to the negative out-group.

The use of *padonki* or *olbanskii* jargon in metadiscourse on anglicisms is another example of joking metadiscourse and in-group creation. *Padonki* jargon, used in informal online communication, features deliberate misspellings and swearing and bears little obvious resemblance to standard Russian. Even those writing in *olbanskii*, which is considered ungrammatical and a threat to the standard language by some itself (e.g. Krongauz in Ostrovskaia 2008), condemn use of anglicisms:

“А в гимназии не зайобывают детей разными англоязычными
неологизмами? В т.н. олбанском вроде нет заимствованных
пендосских слов... Значит мы за чистоту Рускава
Языка!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!!” (Online source 11)

It is argued in taboo terms that children at school are indoctrinated (зайобывают) with American (пендосские) terms, and that *padonki* support the original character of the Russian language. The universal categorisation into in-groups and out-groups who have no say in linguistic matters and the strategies used show signs of 19th century debates about the role of language in general, and how the Russian language should be developed.

Free access to online forums leads to a greater need to establish authority and demonstrate knowledge than in print media discourse, where the privileged position of the journalist presupposes the knowledge and authority on the subject matter. The use of humour, irony and belittling contribute to the defusion of threat. Anglicisms

and their users are portrayed as ridiculous and annoying but harmless. In this respect the online metadiscourse uses the same strategies as print media metadiscourse.

The brief foray into online media metadiscourse gave a snapshot of how language issues are debated in non-traditional outlets, and showed that despite some differences in style and delivery, the online metadiscourse is remarkably similar to print media metadiscourse. Even participants in informal environments are involved with language questions, despite the fact that traditional outlets often accuse them of destroying the language (Thurlow 2006).

5. Suggestions for future work

As one central finding of this thesis was that the metadiscourse stayed uniform in its perception of the nature of language and the role of speakers, regardless of the number of anglicisms borrowed, future research could explore the connection between metadiscourse and attitudes in studies that, rather than take the textual approach of this work, concentrate on fieldwork, for example surveys and interviews. Such interviews could focus directly on language attitudes and then establish whether the language chosen by respondents features the same metadiscursive patterns found in my analysis, for example whether the same metaphors are used. Such a study could aim to ascertain how widespread and universally accepted the metaphor scenarios are not just in planned journalistic language but also in relatively spontaneous spoken language responses to questions.

As well, future work could build on my findings to uncover details of the journalistic processes behind the metadiscourse in the media. A qualitative approach could be used to search out authors who use anglicisms in their writing and survey their language attitudes in order to find out whether behaviour and attitudes go hand in hand, or whether, as is often the case, demands and statements in metadiscourse are not borne out in linguistic behaviour (Garrett et al 2003: 9).

Future work could explore further the finding that the metadiscourse did not change over time as much as expected, and the difficulty in linking metadiscourse to

political events. For example, research could concentrate on key events such as language policy changes and initiatives, and carry out focused studies of metadiscourse from a variety of sources such as newspapers, broadcast media and online arenas; potentially work could incorporate a multimodal aspect, examining visual representations of language change both in print (for example newspaper cartoons), on websites or on film.

Another avenue for research is the use of English on the Russian internet and reactions towards it, in studies that go further than my initial study. Studies of attitudes expressed in online metadiscourse and usage of anglicisms could be compared to findings in print media. Furthermore, metadiscourse featured in online outlets of differing formats and along a continuum of formality could be compared to make firmer claims about the uniformity of metadiscourse and discourse of threat.

6. Summary

Overall, in this work language debates have been shown to contribute to hierarchies of power by constructing a common sense idea of the role and character of Russian and the action necessitated by the proliferation of anglicisms. At times of nation building, language is instrumentalised as a vital characteristic of the nation, but the language debate naturalises this connection and does not link itself openly with nationalist tendencies. The covert operation of language debates and language ideology make it all the more convincing and powerful. But also at times when nationalist impulses were low or in outlets with a liberal outlook, or even the relatively unregulated online sphere, certain images of language were propagated and styled as authoritative. The need to adhere to rules is constructed as urgent across publications and at all times, albeit in changed and adapted versions in every instance. The period of intensive nationbuilding cannot be clearly delineated or considered finished, and the future of metadiscourse is uncertain. The nationbuilding strategy of Putin's reign have been compared to the Peter the Great's era by Duncan (2005: 294):

“The [Putin] regime was reminiscent of Peter the Great, who introduced some Westernizing reforms while strengthening autocracy and serfdom. ... The leadership rejected ethnic Russian nationalism, seeing itself as the heir of the Soviet multi-national state ... Putin’s nationalism was state-centred and in some ways imperial.” (Duncan 2005: 294)

Such tendencies were echoed in the language debate with the use of Soviet rhetoric and looking back to Soviet times. However, the language debate does emphasise a connection to nationalism that emphasises the true Russian self, but still insists on the influence of Russian as the major language of former Soviet territory.

“Конечно, при нынешнем расширении заграничных связей неизбежно появление иноязычных слов” (Pravda 3, 30.06.2000)

“многие из них поражены бациллой низкопоклонства перед Западом.” (Pravda 2, 27.01.1999)

Запад не стесняется демонстрировать свое уродливое лицо.” (Pravda 1, 06.05.1997)

The above examples show how Soviet discourses are referred to in post-Soviet times. The word ‘заграничные связи’ evokes Soviet discourse, constructing continuity of those times with present day processes. The word ‘низкопоклонство’ is a Sovietism usually mentioned in connection with the West and is historically charged with negative meaning. All the above examples are from Pravda where such discourse can be expected.

Language issues are fundamental questions that concern every speaker, and subsequently everyone has an opinion and strives to be heard. The examples of online metadiscourse show the same argumentation strategies used in print media metadiscourse: Anglicisms come under close scrutiny as group boundaries and identities are negotiated. They are more informally expressed online, and do not uphold any pretence of understanding the viewpoint of others. The online metadiscourse focuses on individual language behaviour, individual online users show that they know the rules and can adhere to them when they want to, but reserve the authority not to do so online. But it must be noted that of course even the online jargon that sounds jarring to traditional metadiscourse has its own rules and non-conforming speakers will be marked as outsiders.

The internet has facilitated community building and interaction between many people about any topic. Unlike for other topics (for example technology or fashion) where huge communities with a high amount of interlinking and interaction have developed (Davidson & Vaast 2009, Wilson & Peterson 2002), however, there is no discernible community that discusses foreign influences on the Russian language. Small discussions flare up, but a clearly delineated network of online discussion on the Russian language does not exist. Instead, the discourse is defined by reactions, personal commentary and humour, rather than activism and appeals for change. Individual participants, via such discourse, establish their connection with the in-group. The ideological square of an in-group of sensible speakers using “good” anglicisms, and an out-group of bad speakers and harmful anglicisms, is maintained in the online discourse. Thus, while online debates use strategies to portray borrowings and those who use them that are similar to print media discursive strategies, the focus is not primarily on the portrayal of entire groups, but on face saving and identity establishment of the individual participants who carefully align themselves with the group that is portrayed as positive.

The similarities of debates on the internet and the print media, as well as in television and radio linguistic debates shows a degree of hybridity and an interconnectedness especially applicable on the internet where everything is cross linked and referenced overtly. I have shown in this thesis that there is scope for creativity and change but the underlying issues of language debates remain the same – a struggle for authority in linguistic matters. Each group constructs its own common sense and tries to replace the common sense existing previously. Language issues are a central concern to speakers and are constantly argued about, and the mechanism governing the argumentation are not always clear and predictable but usually involve a struggle for authority over what is the right way or the wrong way to speak. In times of nation building and consolidation, the dominant linguistic discourse changes and a nationalist agenda can be covered up by debates about language issues that are framed as neutral.

It remains to be seen whether the anti-foreignism arguments that gained currency throughout the 2000s are here to stay, whether the role of English and its status as prestige language will change, and whether another language will take its place. Language issues will always be contested, because they are instrumental in establishing group identities, aligning oneself with a particular group, and form an intrinsic part of human social existence. Even though some scholars state that the chaotic processes of linguistic change in Russia will settle down, the commentary on language change has been least evident at times of the greatest change (early 1990s) and then been on the rise. The struggle for authority over linguistic matters occurs throughout, whether the argument is defending the norms or arguing for total change.

Works Cited

- Aitchison, Jean. "Metaphors, Models and Language Change." *Motives for Language Change*. Ed Raymond Hickey. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press: 2003.
- Aitchison, Jean. *Language Change: Progress or Decay?* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Allan, Kathryn. *Metaphor and Metonymy: A Diachronic Approach*. Wiley-Blackwell, Chichester: 2008.
- Althusser, Louis. "Ideology and Ideological State Apparatuses: Notes Towards an Investigation." *Essays on Ideology*. London: Verso, 1984.
- Annamalai, Elayaperumal. "The Linguistic and Social Dimensions of Purism." *The Politics of Language Purism*. Ed. Björn H. Jernudd and Michael J. Shapiro. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1989. pp. 224-31.
- Anderson, Benedict. *Imagined Communities*. London: Verso, 1991.
- Aristova, Valentina Mikhailovna. *Anglo-russkie yazykovye kontakty (anglizmy v russkom yazyke)*. Leningrad: Izd-vo Leningradskogo universiteta, 1978.
- Azhgikhina, Nadezhda. "The Struggle for Press Freedom in Russia: Reflections of a Russian Journalist." *Europe-Asia Studies* 59.8 (2007): 1245-1262.
- Baker, Paul, Costas Gabrielatos, Majid KhosraviNik, Michał Krzyżanowski, Tony McEnery and Ruth Wodak. "A Useful Methodological Synergy? Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics to Examine Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press." *Discourse and Society* 19.3 (2008): 273-306.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Problems of Dostoyevsky's Poetics*. Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.
- Bakhtin, Mikhail. *Speech Genres and Other Late Essays*. Texas: University of Texas, 1986.
- Barker, Chris and Dariusz Galasiński. *Cultural Studies and Discourse Analysis: A Dialogue on Language and Identity*. London: SAGE Publications Ltd, 2001.
- Barthes, Roland. *Mythologies*. Paris: Seuil, 1957.
- Becker, Jonathan. "Lessons from Russia: A Neo-Authoritarian Media System." *European Journal of Communication* 19.2 (2004): 139-164.

- Bell, Allan. "Language and Media." *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 15 (1995): 23-41.
- Benn, David Wedgwood. "The Russian Media in Post-Soviet Conditions." *Europe-Asia Studies* 48.3 (1996): 471-479.
- Berger, Peter and Thomas Luckmann. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. Hammondsworth: Penguin Books Ltd, 1979, first published 1966.
- Berry, Roger. "Making the Most of Metalanguage." *Language Awareness* 14.3 (2005): 3-20.
- Beumers, Birgit, Stephen Hutchings and Natalia Rulyova (eds). *The Post-Soviet Russian Media*. London; New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Bielby, Clare Elizabeth. *Print Media Representations of Violent Women in 1960s and 1970s West Germany*. Diss. University of Edinburgh, 2008.
- Billig, Michael. "Critical Discourse Analysis and the Rhetoric of Critique". *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity*. Eds. Gilbert Weiss and Ruth Wodak. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. pp. 35-46.
- Billig, Michael. *Banal Nationalism*. London: Sage Publications Ltd, 1995.
- Blackledge, Adrian. *Discourse and Power in a Multilingual World*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2005.
- Blommaert, Jan. "Language and Globalisation." *Discourse & Society* 19.2 (2008): 257-262.
- Blommaert, Jan (ed.). *Language Ideological Debates*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999.
- Bloomfield, Leonard. *Language*. New York: Henry Holt, 1933.
- Bogdanov, Konstantin A. *Krokodily v Rossii. Ocherki iz istorii zaimstvovaniy i ekzotizmov*. Moscow: Novoe literaturnoe obozrenie, 2006.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Pascalian Meditations*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Sociology in Question*. London: Sage Publications Ltd., 1993.
- Bourdieu, Pierre and Loic Wacquant. *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Language and Symbolic Power*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991.

- Bourdieu, Pierre *A Logic of Practice*. Cambridge: Polity Press, 1990.
- Bourdieu, Pierre. *Outline of a Theory of Practice*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Braselmann, Petra. "Language Policies in East and West. National Language Policies as a Response to the Pressures of Globalisation." *Globalisation and the Future of German*. Eds. Andreas Gardt and Bernd Hüppauf. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2004. pp. 99-118.
- Brennan, Timothy. "The Cuts of Language: The East/West of North/South." *Public Culture* 13.1 (2001): 39-64.
- Brodsky, Hanna. "Modern Trends in English Borrowings into Russian." *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies* 6.2 (1992): 71-84.
- Busch, Brigitta. "Reflecting Social Heteroglossia and Accommodating Diverse Audiences – a Challenge to the Media." *Discourse and Transformation in Central and Eastern Europe*. Eds Aleksandra Galasińska and Michał Krzyżanowski. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.
- Bushnell, John. *Moscow Graffiti: Language and Subculture*. Boston; London: Unwin Hyman, 1990.
- Cameron, Lynne and Alice Deignan. "The Emergence of Metaphor in Discourse." *Applied Linguistics* 27.4 (2006): 671-690.
- Cameron, Lynne and Graham Low (eds). *Researching and Applying Metaphor*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999.
- Chachibaia, Nelly G. and Michael R. Colenso. "New Anglicisms in Russian." *In and Out of English: For Better, For Worse?* Eds. Gunilla Anderman and Margaret Rodgers. Bristol: Multilingual Matters, 2005. pp. 123-152.
- Charteris-Black, Jonathan. *Corpus Approaches to Critical Metaphor Analysis*. Basingstoke; New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Chouliaraki, Lilie and Norman Fairclough. *Discourse in Late Modernity: Rethinking Critical Discourse Analysis*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.
- Coalson, Robert. "Nezavisimaia Gazeta is Worth watching Again." Radio Free Europe Radio Liberty Website, 3rd September 2007. 1st August 2011 <<http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1078496.html2007>>.
- Comrie, Bernard, Gerald Stone and Maria Polinsky. *The Russian Language in the Twentieth Century*. Oxford: Clarendon, 1996.

- Coulmas, Florian. "Germanness: Language and Nation." *The German Language and the Real World: Sociolinguistic, Cultural and Pragmatic Perspectives on Contemporary German*. Ed. Patrick Stevenson. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1995.
- Coupland, Nikolas and Adam Jaworski. "Sociolinguistic Perspectives on Metalanguage: Reflexivity, Evaluation and Ideology." *Metalanguage: Social and Ideological Perspectives*. Ed. Adam Coupland, Nikolas Jaworski and Dariusz Galasiński. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2004. pp. 15-51.
- Croft, William. *Explaining Language Change: An Evolutionary Approach*. Harlow: Pearson Education Limited, 2000.
- Crystal, David. *Language Death*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Cubberley, Paul. "The Phonological Dynamics of Foreign Borrowings in Russian." *Australian Slavonic and East European Journal* 7.1 (1993): 49-74.
- Davie, James. "Texno, trans and džank: New Waves of *anglicizmy* in Russian Youth Slang." *Australian Slavonic and East European Studies* 11.1/2 (1997): 1-18.
- De Smaele, Hedwig. "The Paradox of Democracy and Press Freedom in Russia." *Mass Media and Political Communication in New Democracies*. Ed. Karin Voltmer. New York; Abingdon: Routledge, 2006. pp. 42-58.
- Diakov, A.I.. "Angloiazychnye varvarizmy v iazyke goroda." *Lingvisticheskii ezhegodnik Sibiri* 1 (1999): 113-121.
- Duchêne, Alexander and Monica Heller. *Discourses of Endangerment: Ideology and Interest in the Defence of Languages*. London: Continuum, 2007.
- Duncan, Peter S. "Contemporary Russian Identity between East and West." *The Historical Journal* 48.1 (2005): 277-294.
- Dunn, John A. "The Role of English in the Development of Modern Russian." *Sprachwandel in der Slavia: Die slavischen Sprachen an der Schwelle zum 21. Jahrhundert. Ein internationales Handbuch*. Ed. Lew Zybatow. Vol. 1. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000. pp. 87-102.
- Duszak, Anna. *Us and Others: Social Identities Across Languages and Cultures*. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2002.
- Eddy, Anna. A. *English in the Russian Context: A Macrosociolinguistic Study*. Diss. Wayne State University, 2007.
- Ermakova, Ol'ga. "Активные процессы в лексической семантике русского языка XX века." *Sprachwandel in der Slavia: Die slavischen Sprachen an der*

Schwelle zum 21. Jahrhundert. Ein internationales Handbuch. Ed. Lew Zybatow. Vol. 1. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000. pp. 65-86.

Fairclough, Norman. *Media Discourse*. London: Edward Arnold, 1995.

Fauconnier, Gilles and Mark Turner. "Rethinking Metaphor." *Cambridge Handbook of Metaphor and Thought*. Ed. Ray Gibbs. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.

Fauconnier, Gilles and Mark Turner. *The Way We Think: Conceptual Blending and the Mind's Hidden Complexities*. New York: Basic Books, 2002.

Fauconnier, Gilles. *Mappings in Thought and Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997.

Fowler, Roger. *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the Press*. London: Routledge, 1991.

Fowler, Roger, Robert Hodge, Gunther Kress and Tony Trew. *Language and Control*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979.

Frank, Roslyn M. "The Language-Organism-Species Analogy: A Complex Adaptive Systems Approach to Shifting Perspectives on 'Language'". *Body, Language and Mind, Vol. 2: Sociocultural Situatedness*. Eds Roslyn M. Frank, René Dirven, Tom Ziemke, and Enrique Bernárdez. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008. pp. 215-262.

Gal, Susan. "Language Ideologies Compared: Metaphors of Public/Private." *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology* 15.1 (2005): 23-37.

Gal, Susan and Kathryn Woolard (eds). *Languages and Publics: The Making of Authority*. Manchester: St Jerome Publishing, 2001.

Gal, Susan and Kathryn A. Woolard. "Constructing Languages and Publics: Authority and Representation." *Pragmatics* 5.2 (1995): 129-138.

Gallois, Cindy, Bernadette Watson and Madeleine Brabant. "Attitudes to Language and Communication." *Handbook of Language and Communication: Diversity and Change*. Eds Marlis Hellinger & Anne Pauwels. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2009. pp. 595-618.

Galtung, Johan and Mari Holmboe Ruge. "The Structure of Foreign News." *Journal of Peace Research* 2.1 (1965): 64-91.

Gardt, Andreas (ed.). *Nation und Sprache: Die Diskussion ihres Verhältnisses in geschichte und Gegenwart*. Berlin; New York: De Gruyter, 2000.

- Garrett, Peter, Nikolas Coupland and Angie Williams. *Investigating Language Attitudes: Social Meanings of Dialect, Ethnicity and Performance*. Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 2003.
- Gasparov, Boris. "Identity in Language?" *National Identity in Russian Culture: An Introduction*. eds. Simon Franklin and Emma Widdis. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004. pp.132-148.
- Geertz, Clifford. *The Interpretation of Cultures: Selected Essays*. New York: Basic, 1973.
- Gehlbach, Scott. "Reflections on Putin and the Media." *Post-Soviet Affairs* 26.1 (2010): 77–87.
- Giddens, Anthony. *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.
- Goatly, Andrew. *The Language of Metaphors*. London: Routledge, 1997.
- Gorham, Michael S. "Language Ideology and the Evolution of *Kul'tural Iazyka* ('Speech Culture') in Soviet Russia." *Politics and the Theory of Language in the USSR 1917-1938: The Birth of Sociological Linguistics*. Eds Craig Brandist and Katya Chown. London; New York; Delhi: Anthem Press, 2010. pp. 137-150.
- Gorham, Michael S. "Linguistic Ideologies, Economies, and Technologies in the Language Culture of Contemporary Russia (1987-2008)." *Journal of Slavic Linguistics* 17.1-2 (2009): 163-192.
- Gorham, Michael. "Language Culture and National Identity in Post-Soviet Russia." *Landslide of the Norm: Language Culture in Post-Soviet Russia*. Eds Ingunn Lunde and Tine Roesen. Bergen: Slavica Bergensia, 2006. pp 18-30.
- Gorham, Michael S. *Speaking in Soviet Tongues: Language Culture and the Politics of Voice in Revolutionary Russia*. DeKalb, Illinois: Northern Illinois University Press, 2003.
- Gorham, Michael. "Natsiia ili Snikerizatsiia? Identity and Perversion in the Language Debates of Late- and Post-Soviet Russia." *Russian Review* 59.4 (2000): 614-629.
- Grady, Joseph E., Todd Oakley & Seana Coulson. "Blending and Metaphor." *Metaphor in Cognitive Linguistics*. Eds Raymond W. Gibbs Jr. & Gerard J. Steen. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 1999. pp. 101-124.
- Gramota website. 1st August 2011. <www.gramota.ru>.

- Gronbeck, Bruce E. "The Rhetorics of the Past: History, Argument and Collective Memory". *Doing Rhetorical History: Concepts and Case*. Ed. K.J. Turner. Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998. pp. 47-60.
- Haarmann, Harald. "Russische Identität und geopolitische Realitäten im Spiegel der postsowjetischen Sprachkontakte." *Sprachwandel in der Slavia: Die slavischen Sprachen an der Schwelle zum 21. Jahrhundert. Ein internationales Handbuch*. Ed. Lew Zybatow. Vol. 1. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000. pp. 723-746.
- Habermas, Jürgen. "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964)". *New German Critique* 3 (1974): 49-55.
- Hall, Stuart, Chas Critcher, Tony Jefferson, John N. Clarke and Brian Roberts. *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order*. London: Macmillan, 1978.
- Halliday, Michael A.K. *Language as a Social Semiotic: The Social Interpretation of Language and Meaning*. London: Edward Arnold, 1978.
- Harlig, Jeffrey and Csaba Pléh. *When East Met West: Sociolinguistics in the Former Socialist Block*. Berlin, Mouton de Gruyter: 1995.
- Harris, Roy. "The Role of the Language Myth in the Western Cultural Tradition". *The Language Myth in Western Culture*. Ed. Roy Harris. Richmond: Curzon Press, 2002. pp. 1-24.
- Hartley, John. *Understanding News*. London: Methuen, 1982.
- Haudressy, Dola. *Ces mots qui disent l'actualite - novye slova otrazhaiut sobytiia 1991 goda*. Paris: I.E.S., 1992.
- Haugen, Einar. *Language Conflict and Language Planning: The Case of Modern Norwegian*. Harvard; Oxford: Harvard University Press, Oxford University Press, 1966.
- Haugen, Einar. "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing." *Language* 26.2 (1950): 210-231.
- Heller, Monica. "Media, the State and Linguistic Authority." *Language Ideologies and Media Discourse: Texts, Practices, Politics*. Eds Sally Johnson and Tommaso M. Milani. London; New York: Continuum, 2010. pp. 277-282.
- Henningsen, Manfred. "The Politics of Purity and Exclusion: Literary and Linguistic Movements of Political Empowerment in America, Africa, the South Pacific, and Europe." *The Politics of Language Purism*. Ed. Björn H. Jernudd and Michael J. Shapiro. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1989. pp. 32-52.

- Hickey, Raymond (ed). *The Handbook of Language Contact*. Malden, Mass.: Wiley Blackwell, 2010.
- Hickey, Raymond (ed). *Motives for Language Change*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Hodge, Robert and Gunther Kress. *Language as Ideology*. London: Routledge, 1979 (1993).
- Holland, Olga. *Anglizismen in der deutsch- und russischsprachigen Presse: Eine kontrastive Untersuchung am Beispiel der 'Financial Times Deutschland' und der 'Vedomosti'*. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 2007.
- Hruschka, Daniel J., Morten H. Christiansen, Richard A. Blythe, William Croft, Paul Heggarty, Salikoko S. Mufwene, Janet B. Pierrehumbert and Shana Poplack. "Building Social Cognitive Models of Language Change." *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 13.11 (2009): 464-469.
- Integrum Worldwide Website. 1st August 2011
<<http://www.integrumworld.com/about.html>>.
- Irvine, Judith. "When Talk Isn't Cheap: Language and Political Economy." *American Ethnologist* 16.2 (1989): 248-267.
- Issatschenko, Alexander. *Geschichte der russischen Sprache*. Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 1983. Vol 1.
- Roman Jakobson. "Linguistics and Poetics." *Style in Language*. Ed. Thomas Sebeok. Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1960.
- Janurik, Szabolcs. "The Integration of English Loanwords in Russian: An Overview of Recent Borrowings." *Studia Slavica* 55.1 (2010): 45-65.
- Jaworski, Adam, Nikolas Coupland and Dariusz Galasiński (eds). *Metalinguage: Social and Ideological Perspectives*. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2004.
- Jernudd, Björn. "The Texture of Language Purism: An Introduction." *The Politics of Language Purism*. Eds Björn H. Jernudd and Michael J. Shapiro. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1989. pp. 1-20.
- Johanson, Lars. *Structural Factors in Turkic Language Contacts*. London: Curzon, 2002.
- Johnson, Sally & Astrid Ensslin (eds). *Language in the Media: Representations, Identities, Ideologies*. London; New York: Continuum, 2007.

- Johnson, Sally. *Spelling Trouble? Language, Ideology and the Reform of German Orthography*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2005.
- Johnson, Sally. "Who's Misunderstanding Whom? Sociolinguistics, Public Debate and the Media." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5 (2001): 591–610.
- Jones, Mari C. and Ishtla Singh. *Exploring Language Change*. London; New York: Routledge, 2005.
- Joseph, John E. and Talbot J. Taylor (eds). *Ideologies of Language*. London; New York: Routledge, 1990.
- Kachru, Brian. "World Englishes and Applied Linguistics." *World Englishes* 9.1 (1990): 3-21.
- Keller, Rudi. *On Language Change: The Invisible Hand in Language*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Khairov, Shamil. "Slavianskaia lingvisticheskaia imagologiiia segodnia: 'obrazy iazyka' i sposoby ikh sopriazheniia s mental'nost'iu i kul'turoi." *GLASGOW DSpace SERVICE: Working Papers, Technical Reports, Theses and Pre-prints*. University of Glasgow, 2003. 1st August 2011
<<http://hdl.handle.net/1905/42>>.
- Koller, Veronika. *Metaphor and Gender in Business Media Discourse: A Critical Cognitive Study*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2004.
- Koltsova, Olessia. *News Media and Power in Russia*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2006.
- Koteyko, Nelya, Brian Brown, and Paul Crawford. "The Dead Parrot and the Dying Swan: The Role of Metaphor Scenarios in UK Press Coverage of Avian Flu in the UK in 2005–2006." *Metaphor and Symbol* 23 (2008): 242–261.
- Kövecses, Zoltán. *Metaphor in Culture: Universality and Cultural Variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005.
- Kroskrity, Paul. "Language Ideologies – Evolving Perspectives." *Society and Language*. Eds Jürgen Jaspers, Jan-Ola Östman, and Jef Verschueren. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2010. pp. 192-211.
- Krysin, L.P. *Russkoe Slovo: Svoe i chuzhoe. Issledovaniia po sovremennomu russkomu iazyku i sotsiolingvistike*. Moscow: Studia Philologica, 2004.
- Kulyk, Volodymyr. "Constructing Common Sense: Language and Ethnicity in Ukrainian Public Discourse." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 29.2 (2006): 281-314.

- Lakoff, George. *Moral Politics: What Conservatives Know that Liberals Don't*. Chicago; London: University of Chicago Press, 1996.
- Lenin, V.I. *Polnoe sobranie sochineniia*. Moscow : Izdatel'stvo. Politicheskoi Literatury, 1975-78. Vol 24.
- Lenin, Vladimir I. "Ob ochistke russkogo iazyka. Razmyshleniia na dosuge, to est' pri slushanii rechei na sobraniiax". *Sochineniia*. Moscow: Partizdat TsK VKP(b), 1935. Vol. 24.
- Levada Center website. 1st August 2011 <www.levada.ru/sborniki.html>.
- Lippi-Green, Rosina. *English with an Accent: Language, Ideology, and Discrimination in the United States*. London; New York: Routledge, 1997.
- Literaturnaia Gazeta Website. 1st August 2011 <www.lgz.ru>.
- Lord, Christopher and Olga Strietska-Ilina (eds). *Parallel Cultures: Majority/Minority Relations in the Countries of the Former Eastern Bloc*. Aldershot: Ashgate, 2001.
- Love, Nigel. "Science, Language and Linguistic Culture." *Language & Communication* 29.1 (2009): 26-46.
- Lovell, Stephen. "Ogonek: The Crisis of a Genre." *Europe-Asia Studies* 48.6 (1996). 989-1006.
- Lucy, John A. (ed.). *Reflexive Language: Reported Speech and Metapragmatics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Lunde, Ingunn and Tine Roesen (eds). *Landslide of the Norm: Language Culture in Post-Soviet Russia*. Bergen: Slavica Bergensia, 2006.
- Lychyk, Victor. "English Borrowings in Recent Soviet Russian." *Papers and Studies in Contrastive Linguistics* 29 (1994): 141-156.
- Maass, Anne, Roberta Ceccarelli and Samantha Rudin. "Linguistic Intergroup Bias: Evidence for In-group Protective Motivation." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 71.3 (1996): 512-526.
- Martinez-Guillem, Susana. "Argumentation, Metadiscourse and Social Cognition: Organizing Knowledge in Political Communication." *Discourse & Society* 20.6 (2009): 727-748.
- Matras, Yaron and Jeanette Sakel. *Grammatical Borrowing in Cross-Linguistic Perspective*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2007.

- Matu, Peter M. & Hendrik Johannes Lubbe. "Investigating Language and Ideology: A Presentation of the Ideological Square and Transitivity in the Editorials of Three Kenyan Newspapers." *Journal of Language and Politics* 6.3 (2007): 401-418.
- Maximova, Tamara. "Russian." *English in Europe*. Ed Manfred Görlach. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 2002. pp. 195-212.
- Mickiewicz, Ellen. "Institutional Incapacity, the Attentive Public, and Media Pluralism in Russia." *Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective*. Eds Richard Gunther and Anthony Mughan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000. pp. 85-121.
- Mickiewicz, Ellen. *Changing Channels: Television and the Struggle for Power in Russia*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Mikhailchenko, Vida and Yulia Trushkova. "Russian in the Modern World." *Languages in a Globalising World*. Eds. Jaques Maurais and Michael Morris. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003.
- Milani, Tommaso M. and Sally Johnson. "Critical Intersections: Language Ideologies and Media Discourse." *Language Ideologies and Media Discourse: Texts, Practices, Politics*. Eds Sally Johnson and Tommaso M. Milani. London; New York: Continuum, 2010. pp. 3-14.
- Milani, Tommaso M. and Sally Johnson. "CDA and Language Ideology – Towards a Reflexive Approach to Discourse Data". *Methods of Discourse Linguistics / Methoden der Diskurslinguistik: Sprachwissenschaftliche Zugänge zur transtextuellen Ebene*. Eds Ingo Warnke and Jürgen Spitzmüller. Berlin; New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2008. pp. 361–384.
- Milani, Tommaso M. "The Voices of Authority in Conflict: The Making of the Expert in a Language Debate in Sweden." *Linguistics and Education* 18.2 (2007): 99-120.
- Milroy, James. "Language Ideologies and the Consequences of Standardization." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5.4 (2001): 530-555.
- Milroy, James and Lesley Milroy. *Authority in Language: Investigating Standard English*. London: Routledge, 1999 (1985).
- Mitchell, William. *Iconology: Image, Text, Ideology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986.
- Moi, Toril. "Appropriating Bourdieu: Feminist Theory and Pierre Bourdieu's Sociology of Culture." *New Literary History* 22.4 (1991): 1017-1049.

- Mokienko, V.M. "The Russian Language 'On the Brink': The Linguistic Situation in Present-day Russia. *Language and Society in Post-Communist Europe: Selected Papers from the Fifth World Congress of Central and East European Studies, Warsaw 1995*. Ed. J.A. Dunn. Basingstoke; London: Macmillan, 1999. pp. 70-103.
- Mottier, Véronique. "Metaphors, Mini-Narratives and Foucauldian Discourse Theory." *Political Language and Metaphor: Interpreting and Changing the World*. Eds Terrell Carver and Jernej Pikalo. Abingdon: Routledge, 2008. pp. 182-194.
- Mufwene, Salikoko S. *The Ecology of Language Evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001.
- Musolff, Andreas. "Metaphor Scenarios in Public Discourse." *Metaphor and Symbol* 21.1 (2006): 23-38.
- Musolff, Andreas. "Ideological Functions of Metaphor: The Conceptual Metaphors of *Health* and *Illness* in Public Discourse." *Cognitive Models in Language and Thought: Ideology, Metaphors and Meanings*. Eds. René Dirven, Roslyn Frank and Martin Pütz. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003. pp. 327-352.
- Myers-Scotton, Carol. *Contact Linguistics: Bilingual Encounters and Grammatical Outcomes*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Mzhel'skaya, O.S. and E.I. Stepanova. "Noveyshie anglitsizmy v russkom iazyke." *Novye slova i slovari novykh slov*. Ed. N. Z. Kotelova. Leningrad: Nauka, 1983.
- Nerlich, Brigitte. "Wilhelm von Humboldt." *Culture and Language Use*. Eds Gunter Senft, Jan-Ola Östman and Jef Verschueren. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2009. pp. 173-184.
- Nerlich, Brigitte and Irina Hellsten. "Genomics: Shifts in Metaphorical Landscape between 2000 and 2003". *New Genetics and Society* 23.2 (2004): 255-268.
- Neroznak, V.P, M.V. Oreshkina and R.B. Sabatkov. "Russkii iazyk v iazykovoi politike rossiiskoi federatsii." *Gosudarstvennyi iazyk Rossiiskoi Federatsii: Voprosy zakonodatel'nogo obespecheniia (chast' I) vypusk 14*. Russian State Duma, 2002. 1 August 2011 <<http://iam.duma.gov.ru/node/2/4421/14438>>.
- Neshchimenko, Galina. "Проблемы публичной вербальной коммуникации на рубеже веков." *Sprachwandel in der Slavia: Die slavischen Sprachen an der Schwelle zum 21. Jahrhundert. Ein internationales Handbuch*. Ed. Lew Zybatow. Vol. 1. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000. pp. 183-208.

- Nettmann-Multanowska, Kinga. *English Loanwords in Polish and German after 1945: Orthography and Morphology*. Frankfurt am Main; New York: Peter Lang, 2003.
- Neustupny, J.V. "Language Purism as a Type of Language Correction." *The Politics of Language Purism*. Eds Björn H. Jernudd and Michael J. Shapiro. Berlin, New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1989. pp. 211-223.
- Niedzielski, Nancy and Dennis R. Preston. *Folk Linguistics*. New York; Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1999.
- Nordenstreng, Kaarle, Elena Vartanova and Yassen Zassoursky. *Russian Media Challenge*. Helsinki: Kikimora, 2002.
- Oates, Sarah. *Television, Elections and Democracy in Russia*. Abingdon: Routledge, 2006.
- Oktar, Lütfiye. "The Ideological Organization of Representational Processes in the Presentation of Us and Them." *Discourse and Society* 12.3 (2001): 313-346.
- Olstead, Riley. "Contesting the Text: Canadian Media Depictions of the Conflation of Mental Illness." *Sociology of Health and Illness* 24.5 (2002): 621-643.
- Phillipson, Robert. "Linguistic Imperialism: A Conspiracy, or a Conspiracy of Silence?" *Language Policy* 6.3-4 (2007): 377-383.
- Pietiläinen, Jukka, Irina Fomicheva and Liudmila Resnianskaia. "Changing Media Use in Russia." *Russian Mass Media and Changing Values*. Eds. Arja Rosenholm, Kaarle Nordenstreng and Elena Trubina. New York; London: Routledge, 2010. pp. 41-58.
- Ricento, Thomas (ed.). *Ideology, Politics and Language Policies*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2000.
- Rumsey, Alan. "Wording, Meaning and Linguistic Ideology." *American Anthropologist* 92.2 (1990): 346-361.
- Pavlenko, Aneta. "Russian in Post-Soviet Countries." *Russian Linguistics* 32 (2008): 59-80.
- Pelikh, Elena A. "New Words and Concepts in Post-Soviet Russia." *Collegium Antropologicum* 28 Suppl. 1. (2004): 131-138.
- Pfandl, Heinrich. "Wie gehen die slawischen Sprachen mit Anglizismen um? (Am Beispiel des Russischen, Tschechischen und Slowenischen)." *Eurospeak: Der Einfluss des Englischen auf europäische Sprachen zur Jahrtausendwende*. Eds. Rudolf Muhr and Bernhard Kettemann. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2004. pp. 117-154.

- Phillips, Louise and Marianne W. Jørgensen. *Critical Discourse Analysis as Theory and Method*. London: SAGE Publications, 2002.
- Pishu Pravil'no Community. LiveJournal website. 1 August 2011
<http://community.livejournal.com/pishu_pravilno>.
- Preston, Dennis R. "Folk Metalanguage." *Metalanguage: Social and Ideological Perspectives*. Eds Adam Jaworski, Nikolas Coupland and Dariusz Galasiński. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter. 2004. pp. 75-101.
- Preston, Dennis R. "Language with an Attitude." *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Eds Jack K. Chambers, Peter Trudgill and Natalie Schilling-Estes. Oxford: Blackwell, 2002. pp. 40-66.
- Preston, Dennis R. "Content-Oriented Discourse Analysis and Folk Linguistics." *Language Sciences* 16.2 (1994): 285-331.
- Proshina, Zoya G. and Brian P. Ettkin. "English-Russian Language Contacts". *World Englishes* 24.4 (2005): 439-444.
- Putnam, Hilary. *Mind, Language and Reality: Philosophical papers, Vol. II*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975.
- Rakhmanova, L.I. and V.N. Suzdal'tseva. *Sovremennyj russkii iazyk*. Moscow: CheRo, 1997.
- Rathmayr, Ruth. "Von 'kommersant' bis 'džast-in-tajm': Wiederbelebungen, Umwertungen und Neubildungen im Wortschatz der Perestroika." *Slawische Linguistik 1990*. Eds. K. Hartenstein und H. Jachnow. Munich: Slawistische Beiträge, 1991. pp. 190-232.
- Reisigl, Martin and Ruth Wodak. *Discourse and Discrimination*. London: Routledge, 2001.
- Richards, Ivor A. *The Philosophy of Rhetoric*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1936.
- Ries, Nancy. *Russian Talk: Culture and Conversation During Perestroika*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1997.
- Rodin, Ivan. "Proshel kruglyi stol "Finansovye innovatsii i sud'ba russkogo iazyka: IRO, derivativy, sek'iurizatsia – vsekh etikh slov po-russki net?" IRO Kongress. *Kommentarii*. 2006. 1st August 2011
<<http://www.ipocongress.ru/rus/analytics/comment/id/2116/>>.
- Romaine, Suzanne. "Contact and Language Death." *The Handbook of Language Contact*. Ed. Raymond Hickey. Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2010. pp. 320-339.

- Romanov, Artemii Iur'evich. *Anglitsizmy i amerikanizmy v russkom iazyke i otnoshenie k nim*. St Petersburg, Izdatel'stvo Sankt-Peterburgskogo universiteta: 2000.
- Rosenhouse, Judith and Rotem Kowmer. "The Hegemony of English and Determinants of Borrowing from its Vocabulary." *Globally Speaking: Motives for Adopting English Vocabulary in Other Languages*. Eds. Judith Rosenhouse and Rotem Kowmer. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2008. pp. 4-18.
- Russian State Government Directive No. 772 about the Foundation of a Common State Fund "Russian Language Centre". 5th June 2000. Web. 1st August 2011 <<http://infopravo.by.ru/fed2000/ch05/akt18112.shtm>>.
- Russian Government. *Decree No. 883 of the Government of the Russian Federation on the Federal Target Programme "Russian Language (2006-2010)"*. 2005.
- Russian Government. *Decree No. 492 of the Government of the Russian Federation on the Federal Target Programme "Russian Language (2011-2015)"*. 2011.
- Russian Federation. *Federal Law No. 126-ФЗ "О внесении изменений и дополнений в Закон Российской Федерации «О языках народов РСФСР»*." 24th June 1998.
- Russian Government. *Law No. 2124-I of the Russian Federation "On the Mass Media"*. 27th December 1991.
- Ryazanova-Clarke, Lara. "'The Crystallisation of Structures': Linguistic Culture in Putin's Russia." *Landslide of the Norm: Language Culture in Post-Soviet Russia*. Eds Ingunn Lunde and Tine Roesen. Department of Russian Studies, University of Bergen: Bergen, 2006a. pp. 31-63.
- Ryazanova-Clarke, Lara. "'The State Turning to Language': Power and Identity in Russian Language Policy Today." *Russian Language Journal* 56 (2006b): 37-55.
- Ryazanova-Clarke, Lara. "The Re-Creation of the Nation: Orthodox and Heterodox Discourses in Post-Soviet Russia." *Scando-Slavica* 54 (2008): 223-239.
- Ryazanova-Clarke, Larissa and Terence Wade. *The Russian Language Today*. London: Routledge, 1999.
- Safran, William. "Language, Ideology, and State-Building: A Comparison of Policies in France, Israel, and the Soviet Union." *International Political Science Review* 13.4 (1992): 397-414.

- Santa Ana, Otto. "Three Mandates for Anti-Minority Policy Expressed in U.S. Public Discourse Metaphors." *Cognitive Models in Language and Thought: Ideology, Metaphors and Meanings*. Eds. René Dirven, Roslyn Frank and Martin Pütz. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003. pp. 199-228.
- Savel'eva, L.V. *Russkoe slovo: Konets XX veka*. St. Petersburg: Logos, 2000.
- Schiffman, Harold. "Language Policy and Linguistic Culture." *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method*. Ed. Thomas Ricento. Oxford: Blackwell, 2006.
- Schiffman, Harold. *Linguistic Culture and Language Policy*. London: Routledge, 1996.
- Schoen, Donald. A. "Generative metaphor: A Perspective on Problem-Setting in Social Policy." *Metaphor and Thought*. Ed. Andrew Ortony. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Sergeant, Philip. "Metaphors of Possession in the Conceptualisation of Language." *Language & Communication* 29 (2009): 383-393.
- Seifrid, Thomas. *The Word Made Self: Russian Writings on Language, 1860-1930*. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press, 2005.
- Semino, Elena. *Metaphor in Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008.
- Seriot, Patrick. "The Russian and French Laws on Language: A Cross-Lighting." *Russian Language Journal* 56 (2006): 85-97.
- Shen, Yeshayahu and Noga Balaban. "Metaphorical (In)Coherence in Discourse." *Discourse Processes* 28.2 (1999): 139-153.
- Silverstein, Michael. "Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology." *The Elements: A Parasession on Linguistic Units and Levels. Including Papers from the Conference on Non-Slavic Languages of the USSR*. 1979. pp. 193-247
- Skillen, Daphne. "The Next General Elections in Russia: What Role for the Media?" *Europe-Asia Studies* 59.8 (2007): 1263-1278.
- Smith, Adam. *The Theory of Moral Sentiments*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976.
- Spitzmüller, Jürgen. *Metasprachdiskurse: Einstellungen zu Anglizismen und ihre wissenschaftliche Rezeption*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2005
- Spolsky, Bernard. *Language Policy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2004.

- Stalin, Iosif V. *Marksizm i voprosy iazykoznaniiia*. Moscow: 3-ia tipografiia 'Krasnyi proletarii' glavpoligrafizdata pri Sovete ministrov SSSR, 1950.
- Steinke, Thomas. *Anglizismen im Russischen: Eine Untersuchung anhand von Printmedien*. Hamburg: Verlag Dr. Kovač, 2006.
- Stenvoll, Dag. "Slippery Slopes in Political Discourse". *Political Language and Metaphor: Interpreting and Changing the World*. Eds Terrell Carver and Jernej Pikalo. Abingdon: Routledge, 2008. pp. 28-41.
- Taylor, Talbot J. *Theorizing Language: Analysis, Normativity, Rhetoric, History*. Amsterdam; New York; London: Pergamon, 1997.
- Thomason, Sarah Grey. *Language Contact: An Introduction*. Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press: 1999.
- Thurlow, Crispin. "From Statistical Panic to Moral Panic: The Metadiscursive Construction and Popular Exaggeration of New Media Language in the Print Media." *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 11.3 (2006): 667-701.
- Timofeeva, Galina Grigorevna. *Novye angliiskie zaimstvovaniia v russkom iazyke. Napisanie. Proiznoshenie*. St. Petersburg: Iuna, 1995.
- Tolz, Vera. "Forging the Nation: National Identity and Nation Building in Post-Communist Russia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 50.6 (1998): 993-1022.
- Turgenev, I.S. *Izbrannoe. Klassicheskaiia biblioteka "Sovremennika"*. Moscow: Sovremennik, 1979.
- Ustinova, Irina. "English in Russia." *World Englishes* 24.2 (2005): 239-252.
- Vanbeselaere, Norbert. "Mere Repeated Exposure and Experimental Stress as Determiners of Stimulus Evaluations." *Motivation and Emotion* 4.1 (1980): 61-69.
- Van Dijk, Teun. "Discourse and Manipulation." *Discourse and Society* 17.2 (2006): 359-383.
- Van Dijk, Teun. "The Discourse-Knowledge Interface". *Critical Discourse Analysis: Theory and Interdisciplinarity*. Eds Gilbert Weiss and Ruth Wodak. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. pp. 85-109.
- Van Dijk, Teun. 2000. "On the Analysis of Parliamentary Debates on Immigration." *The Semiotics of Racism*. Eds Martin Reisigl and Ruth Wodak. Vienna: Passagen Verlag, 2000. pp. 85-104.

- Van Dijk, Teun A. *Ideology: A Multidisciplinary Approach*. London: SAGE Publications, 1998.
- Vanhala-Aniszewski, Marjatta. "Constructing Interpersonal Relations in the Discourse of Russian Media." *Discourse in Action*. Eds Sanna-Kaisa Tanskanen, Marja-Liisa Helasvuo, Marjut Johansson and Mia Raitaniemi. Amsterdam; Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 2010. pp. 101-114.
- Van Leeuwen, Theo. "The Representation of Social Actors." *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis*. Eds Carmen Rosa Caldas-Coulthard, Malcolm Coulthard. London: Routledge, 1996. pp. 32-70.
- Vartanova, Elena and Sergei Smirnov. "Contemporary Structure of the Russian Media Industry." *Russian Mass Media and Changing Values*. Eds. Arja Rosenholm, Kaarle Nordenstreng and Elena Trubina. New York; London: Routledge, 2010. pp. 21-40.
- Vepreva, Irina T. "O kodifitsirovannoi norme v sovremennoi kul'turno-rechevoi situatsii: norma i moda." *Russkii iazyk segodnia. 4. Problemy iazykovoi normy*. Ed. Leonid P. Krysin. Moskva: Institut russkogo iazyka, 2006. pp. 537-555.
- Vinogradov, Viktor Vladimirovich. "Problemy kul'tury rechi i nekotorye zadachi russkogo iazykoznaniiia." *Voprosy Iazykoznaniiia* 3 (1964).
- Vinogradov, Viktor Vladimirovich. "Russkaia rech', ee izuchenie i voprosy rechevoi kul'tury." *Voprosy Iazykoznaniiia* 4 (1961).
- Vinokur, Grigorii Osipovich. *Kul'tura iazyka*. 2nd ed. Moscow, 1929.
- Von Seth, Rutger. "The Russian Public Sphere, 1978–2003: The Construction of the Citizen Role through Newspaper Discourse. Agency and the Political Process." *Critical Discourse Studies* 8.1 (2011): 15–29.
- White, Michael and Honesto Herrera. "Metaphor and Ideology in the press Coverage of Telecom Corporate Consolidations." *Cognitive Models in Language and Thought: Ideology, Metaphors and Meanings*. Eds. René Dirven, Roslyn Frank and Martin Pütz. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003. pp. 277-326.
- Whittall, Sarah. *A Study of English Nautical Loanwords in the Russian Language of the 18th Century*. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1985.
- Winford, Donald. *An Introduction to Contact Linguistics*. Oxford; Blackwell, 2003.
- Wodak, Ruth. "Discourses in European Union Organizations: Aspects of Access, Participation, and Exclusion." *Text & Talk* 27.5/6 (2007): 655-680.

- Wodak, Ruth, Rudolf de Cillia, Martin Reisigl and Karin Liebhart. *The Discursive Construction of National Identity*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1999.
- Wolf, Hans-Georg and Frank Polzenhagen. "Conceptual Metaphor as Ideological Stylistic Means: An Exemplary Analysis." *Cognitive Models in Language and Thought: Ideology, Metaphors and Meanings*. Eds. René Dirven, Roslyn Frank and Martin Pütz. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2003. pp. 247-276.
- Woolard, Kathryn A., Bambi B. Schieffelin and Paul Kroskrity. *Language Ideologies: Theory and Practice*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- Yakovlev, K.F. *Kak my portim russkii iazyk*. Moscow: Molodaia Gvardiia, 1976.
- Yelenevskaya, Maria. "Russian: From Socialist Realism to Reality Show." *Globally Speaking: Motives for Adopting English Vocabulary in Other Languages*. Eds. Judith Rosenhouse and Rotem Kowmer (eds.). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters, 2008. pp. 98-120.
- Yurchak, Alexei. "Privatize Your Name: Symbolic Work in a Post-Soviet Linguistic Market". *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 4.3 (2000): 406-434.
- Zassoursky, Ivan. "Free to Get Rich and Fool Around." *The Post-Soviet Russian Media*. Eds Birgit Beumers, Stephen Hutchings and Natalia Rulyova. London; New York: Routledge, 2009. pp. 29-41.
- Zassoursky, Ivan. *Media and Power in Post-Soviet Russia*. Armonk; London: M.E. Sharpe, 2004.
- Zinken, Jörg, Iina Hellsten and Brigitte Nerlich. "Discourse Metaphors." *Body, Language and Mind, Vol 2: Sociocultural Situatedness*. Eds Tom Ziemke, Jordan Zlatev, Roslyn M, Frank and Enrique Bernárdez. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 2008. pp. 363-368.
- Zybatow, Lew. "Sprachwandel in der Slavia und seine theoretische Einordnung." *Sprachwandel in der Slavia: Die slavischen Sprachen an der Schwelle zum 21. Jahrhundert. Ein internationales Handbuch*. Ed. Lew Zybatow. Vol. 1. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2000. pp. 3-28.

Appendix 1: List of articles

Аргументы и Факты

- 1: Кольчик, Светлана. "Легко ли прибарыжить шушеру?" *Аргументы и факты*. 27th December 2000.
- 2: Кольчик, Светлана. "Москва - это Нью-Йорк." *Аргументы и факты*. 21st February 2001.
- 3: Горбаренко, С. "Не наш русский." *Аргументы и факты*. 25th June 2003.
- 4: Писаренко, Дмитрий. "Язык с хреном." *Аргументы и факты*. 4th February.2004.

Известия

- 1: Корнилов, Леонид. "Дайджест." *Известия*. 12th August1995.
- 2: Ежелев, Анатолий. "'Водка-шоп" и "Нива маркет".'" *Известия*. 27th August 1998.
- 3: Хрома, Иван. "Вы говорите по-американски?" *Известия*. 19th August 2000.
- 4: Садчиков, Александр. "Право писания." *Известия*. 16th November 2000.
- 5: Ульянов, В.М. "Великий и могучий." *Известия*. 11th August 2001.
- 6: "Тема дня." *Известия*. 17th April 2002.
- 7: "Хроники." *Известия*. 30th May 2002.
- 8: "Язык обложен-2." *Известия*. 6th December 2002.
- 9: Тимофеева, Ольга. "Уроки словесности." *Известия*. 9th September 2003.
- 10: "Обратная связь." *Известия* (Россия). 13th January 2004.
- 11: Недзвецкий, Валентин. "Профессор МГУ Валентин Недзвецкий: "Реклама разрушает наш 'национальный код'".'" *Известия*. 1st November 2006.
- 12: Федина, Анна "'Нику" порезали." *Известия*. 26th March 2007.
- 13: Филиппов, Виктор "В Белгороде открыли памятник русскому слову." *Известия*. 17th May 2007.
- 14: "Языку нельзя ничего запретить." *Известия*. 7th August 2007.
- 15: Милославский, Игорь "Новизна с последствиями." *Известия*. 8th June 2009.
- 16: Белуза, Александра "Оковы для "златоустов".'" *Известия*. 24th June 2009.

Коммерсантъ

- 1: "Новинки Sharp на российском рынке." *Коммерсантъ-Daily*. 29th October 1994.
- 2: "Ведомости." *Коммерсантъ-Daily*. 31st January 1996.
- 3: Водин, Родион. "Французские финансовые компании." *Коммерсантъ-Daily*. 16th April 1996.
- 4: Новиков, Михаил. "Из секретарей в простые бессмертные." *Коммерсантъ-daily*. 9th October 1999.
- 5: "Министр пропозирует формирование." *Коммерсантъ*. 29th April 2000.

- 6: Филиппова, Татьяна. "Язык станет ближе народу." *Коммерсантъ*. 17th April 2002.
- 7: Рогожанов, Михаил "Символический капитал." *Коммерсантъ Daily*. 31st May 2006.
- 8: "Купюры." *Коммерсантъ Daily*. 21st March 2007.

Литературная Газета

- 1: Зиник, Зиновий. "Рано судить о месте. Улитина в литературе. Возражения критику." *Литературная газета*. 19th February 1997.
- 2: Баймухаметов, Сергей. "Какой эччивмент можно вам поставить?" *Литературная газета*. 22nd September 1999.
- 4: Раменский, Евгений. "Родная речь или новояз? Слово - плоть бысть." *Литературная газета*. 25th September 2002.
- 5: Мороз, Олег. "Какая защита нужна великому и могучему?" *Литературная газета*. 12th April 2002.
- 6: Ахременкова, Людмила. "Литература. Родная речь." *Литературная газета*. 26th February 2003.
- 7: "'Англофения' превращает в население великий когда-то народ." *Литературная газета*. 12th March 2003.
- 8: Вронский, Юрий. "Родная речь. "Нонсенс" или глупость?" *Литературная газета*. 14th May 2003.
- 9: Куприянов, Вячеслав. "Родная речь. К русской философии языка." *Литературная газета*. 14th May 2003.
- 11: Скворцов, Лев. "Что родила гора?" *Литературная газета*. 2nd March 2005.
- 12: Казначеев, Сергей. "Покушение на кириллицу." *Литературная газета*. 24th February 2005.
- 13: "Закон, запрещающий искажение и неграмотное использование русского языка, принят За." *Литературная газета*. 5th July 2006.
- 14: "МАТЕРИАЛИЗОВАННАЯ интеллигенция." *Литературная газета*. 25th October 2006.
- 15: Яковлев, Александр. "Сергей Минаев: "Буду Ерничать, смеяться..."." *Литературная газета*. 14th February 2007.
- 16: Воронцов, Андрей. "Тоголь, Украина и Россия." *Литературная газета*. 14th March 2007.
- 17: Шатохина, Ольга " "Самое главное - развить воображение" " *Литературная газета*. 23rd January 2008.
- 18: Голуб, Ирина. "После года русского языка." *Литературная газета*. 13th February 2008.
- 19: Маликов, Евгений. "Сказано вам русским языком!" *Литературная газета*. 2nd April 2008.
- 21: Голуб, Ирина. "Загадки грамматики." *Литературная газета*. 23rd April 2008.
- 22: Рябинин, Юрий. "Вкус "замороженной клубники"." *Литературная газета*. 14th May 2008.
- 23: Иванова, Ольга. "Хранители дара." *Литературная газета*. 19th November 2008.

24: Горлова, Надежда. "Родная речь - дарованное благо." *Литературная газета*. 24th June 2009.

Московские Новости

- 1: Скоробогатько, Татьяна Георгиевна. "Национал-патриотический цвет думы." *Московские новости*. 19th January 1994.
- 2: Сычев, Сергей Иванович. "Самая современная библиотека в мире." *Московские новости*. 6th July 1995.
- 3: ""Она была его толмачом и чичероне"." *Московские новости*. 12th March 1996.
- 4: Шелевев, Михаил. "Родина поддает и парит." *Московские новости*. 18th March 1997.
- 5: Толстая, Татьяна. "Туда-сюда-обратно (сердца горестные заметы - 3)." *Московские новости*. 1st December 1998.
- 6: Ларина, Юлия. "Кто хочет стать кандидатом?" *Московские новости*. 25th June 2002.
- 7: Бирюлин, Святослав. "На обломках "стены"" *Московские новости*. 23rd June 2006.
- 8: Медведев, Святослав & Татьяна Черниговская. "Язык развивается. А мы?" *Московские новости*. 11th August 2006.
- 9: Замятина, Тамара. "Кто станет лидером демократов всея Руси?" *Московские новости*. 15th September 2006.

Независимая Газета

- 1: Зотов, Игорь. "10 000 Фунтов лиха." *Независимая Газета*. 18th September 1993.
- 3: Попов, Дмитрий. "Неологизмы "Мерчиндайзеры" и "промоутеры" выходят на рынок рабочей силы." *Независимая Газета*. 7th October 1995.
- 4: Гельман, Захар Ефимович. "Связующий порядок в великом хаосе Гетевский инстинкт Августа Стриндберга." *Независимая Газета*. 23rd January 1996.
- 5: "Академики наступают о хорошем отношении к живой русская языка." *Независимая Газета*. 24th February 1996.
- 6: Зотов, Игорь. "Современный бобок Похвальное слово живому классiku." *Независимая Газета*. 2nd March 1996..
- 7: " ... с Игорем Зотовым ("НГ", 02.03.96) Язык теряет силу сопротивления." *Независимая Газета*. 30th March 1996.
- 8: "Ярмарка малограмотных. Как переводят зарубежные фильмы на нашем ТВ." *Независимая Газета*. 7th March 1997.
- 9: Разлогов, Кирилл. "Бродячая собака. Революционные инициативы Маркеса." *Независимая Газета*. 17th April 1997.
- 10: Левшин, Игорь. "Средство общения для касты избранных. Компьютер как современное обстоятельство борьбы за язык." *Независимая Газета*. 1st June 1997.
- 11: Адамишин, Анатолий. "Как важно любить птиц. Английское ханжество - светлое будущее человечества." *Независимая Газета*. 27th June 1997.

- 12: Панфилов, Александр Константинович. "... с Катариной Венцль ("НГ", 17.06.97). Комедийные забавы вокруг правдивого и свободного." *Независимая Газета*. 5th July 1997.
- 13: Нечаева, Валерия Михайловна. "...с Мариной Ремневой ("НГ", 22.07.97). Что такое "форс-мажор"?" *Независимая Газета*. 11th October 1997.
- 14: Костомаров, Виталий. "О сообразности и соразмерности. "Наивно полагать, что можно совершенствовать речь без изменения сознания", - говорит Виталий Костомаров." *Независимая Газета*. 4th December 1997.
- 15: "Русской истории нужен Моисей. "Всемирно-нормальной" модели не может быть, так же, как не может быть." *Независимая Газета*. 16th September 1998.
- 16: "Новое творение языка." *Независимая Газета*. 24th September 1998.
- 17: "Получивший благословение на президентство." *Независимая Газета*. 3rd March 1999.
- 18: Земляной, Сергей. "Гармонические затеи гения." *Независимая Газета*. 3rd June 1999.
- 19: Лихолитов, Петр Владимирович. "Фамильное обращение с серьезными понятиями. Из чего складывается компьютерный жаргон?" *Независимая Газета*. 29th October 1999.
- 20: "Среда обитания." *Независимая Газета*. 28th January 2000.
- 21: Ремизова, Мария. "Февраль: открыть, прочесть и плакать." *Независимая Газета*. 17th March 2000.
- 22: Земскова, Татьяна. "'Наша власть - холостяцкая квартира...'" *Независимая Газета*. 18th March 2000.
- 23: Шорунов, Валерий. "Требуется помощь всех!" *Независимая Газета*. 30th June 2000.
- 24: "Журналистов надо учить и учить!" *Независимая Газета*. 2nd December 2000.
- 25: "Пицца с брусникой и мидиями." *Независимая Газета*. 6th June 2001.
- 26: Эпштейн, Михаил. "Варваризация и латинизация." *Независимая Газета*. 9th October 2003.
- 27: Яцутко, Денис. "Русский язык и Великая сеть." *Независимая Газета*. 19th February 2004.
- 28: Архипова, Наталья. "Ритуальная матрица." *Независимая Газета*. 17th March 2004.
- 29: Артемов, Станислав. "Латиница vs. Кириллица." *Независимая Газета*. 1st July 2004.
- 30: Рудык, Кристина. "ЗвонИт или звОнит?" *Независимая Газета*. 13th October 2006.
- 31: Родин, Иван. "Шампанские танцы в думе." *Независимая Газета*. 8th November 2006.
- 32: Водолазкин, Евгений. "Тропический лес языка." *Независимая Газета*. 14th January 2009.
- 33: Фл-кий, Н. "Непонятное лингвистическое недомыслие." *Независимая Газета*. 14th January 2009.

Новая Газета

- 1: Смирнов, Ким. "<Парашют> из <матрица>." *Новая газета*. 15th January 2001.
- 2: Дьякова, Елена. "Я русский бы выучил – только за что?" *Новая газета*. 17th December 2001.
- 3: Троицкий, Артемий. "Операция <Ё>." *Новая газета*. 18th September 2003.
- 4: Полякова, Светлана. "Требуется интерес к другим." *Новая газета*. 26th July 2007.

Огонёк

- 1: "Отечественные записки." *Огонёк*. 16th February 1998.
- 2: "Из переписки Кенжеева с Левиным." *Огонёк*. 27th January 2000.
- 3: Аксенов, Василий. "Отцы по домам." *Огонёк*. 29th July 2002.
- 4: Куликова, Майя. "'Люблю SMS, но скучаю по письмам в конвертах.' Михаил ЛУРЬЕ." *Огонёк*. 14th February 2005.
- 5: Быков, Дмитрий. "Пропавшая грамота." *Огонёк*. 5th December 2005.
- 6: Гордон, Борис. "Я вас слушаю, Ключевский." *Огонёк*. 13th February 2006.

Правда

- 1: Крайнов, Леонард. "НАТО - восточная Европа." *Правда*. 6th May 1997.
- 2: Линник, Виктор. "В гостях у <Слова> Юрий Беляев, президент Академии Российской Словесности: <Академия Российской Словесности как страж русского языка>." *Правда*. 27th January 1999.
- 3: Симаков, Николай. "Не умеем беречь." *Правда*. 30th June 2000.
- 4: "Сохраним тебя, русская речь!" *Правда*. 5th February 2004.
- 5: Кожемяко, Виктор. "Русское слово на рубеже обороны." *Правда*. 12th February 2004.
- 6: Анучкин-Тимофеев, Арнольд. "Заемный имидж." *Правда*. 20th October 2006.
- 7: Кожемяко, Виктор. "Защищая культуру, отстоим страну." *Правда*. 27th March 2007.

Российская Газета

- 1: Валентинов, Альберт. "Язык мой враг или друг?" *Российская газета*. 19th January 1996.
- 2: Молодцова, Виктория. "Люблю великого и могучево русского языка." *Российская газета*. 7th March 1996.
- 3: Афанасьев, Александр. "Самая читающая страна не должна превратиться в театр." *Российская газета*. 5th December 1996.
- 4: "Новости на все голоса." *Российская газета*. 23rd March.
- 5: "Укус конкурента Цивилизованный рынок - это свои законы и прозрачные правила игры." *Российская газета*. 5th September 2000.
- 6: Селезнева, Александра. "Умри, лучше не скажешь!" *Российская газета*. 22nd November 2000.

- 7: Тренева, Елизавета. "Телевидение должно быть родным." *Российская газета*. 18th January 2002.
- 8: Занина, Маргарита. "Нравится ли вам, как сейчас говорят по-русски?" *Российская газета*. 28th August 2002.
- 9: Панова, Мария. "Вау, блин, упс!" *Российская газета*. 27th September 2002.
- 10: Королева, Марина. "Бутерброд не для бутика." *Российская газета*. 4th January 2003.
- 11: Краснов, Михаил. "Мы снова говорим на разных языках." *Российская газета*. 12th February 2003.
- 12: Девицын, Виктор. "Язык вражды и примирения." *Российская газета*. 21st March 2003.
- 13: Сальников, Владимир. "Шла "собака" по Парижу." *Российская газета*. 26th August 2003.
- 14: Новоселова, Елена. "'Саммит" и "аналог" вне закона." *Российская газета*. 7th June 2005.
- 15: "Читательский рейтинг на сайте РГ." *Российская газета*. 8th June 2005.
- 16: Королева, Марина. "Абитуриентам вход разрешается." *Российская газета*. 26th August 2005.
- 17: Малахов, Алексей. "Жизнь на карте." *Российская газета*. 29th September 2005.
- 18: Коробейников, Валерий. "Аз есмь свет миру." *Российская газета*. 25th May 2006.
- 19: Новоселова, Елена. "Нет слов..." *Российская газета*. 25th July 2006.
- 20: Королева, Марина. "ТАСС уполномочен заявить." *Российская газета*. *Российская газета* - неделя. 18th August 2006.
- 21: Королева, Марина. "Чай от Фроси Бурлаковой." *Российская газета*. *Российская газета* - неделя. 25th August 2006.
- 22: Бак, Дмитрий Елена Новоселова. "Вячеслав Иванов: Я не полиглот, но читаю на ста языках." *Российская газета*. 15th September 2006.
- 23: Шкель, Тамара. "Переведем закон на русский." *Российская газета*. 8th November 2006.
- 24: Королева, Марина. "'Хорошо спланированная диверсия'." *Российская газета*. 24th November 2006.
- 25: "Гражданский кодекс Российской Федерации от 18 декабря 2006 г. N 230-ФЗ Часть четвертая" *Российская газета*. 22nd December 2006.
- 26: "Федеральный закон Российской Федерации от 18 декабря 2006 г. N 231-ФЗ О введении в действие части четвертой Гражданского кодекса Российской Федерации" *Российская газета*. 22nd December 2006.
- 27: Коробейников, Валерий. "Право быть собой." *Российская газета*. 12th April 2007.
- 28: Королева, Марина. "Маргинал, аутсайдер, люмпен." *Российская газета*. *Российская газета* - неделя. 29th June 2007.
- 29: Королева, Марина. "Колбаса из пескаря." *Российская газета*. 20th July 2007.
- 30: Свиноаренко, Игорь. ЖЗЛ не барахолка, тут впаривать нельзя..." *Российская газета*. 29th November 2007.
- 31: Юрьева, Дарья. "Чавес объявил войну." *Российская газета*. 27th February 2008.
- 32: Федорченко, Сергей. "Унесенные ребрендингом." *Российская газета*. 16th

April 2008.

33: Белкина, Ирина. “Трудности перевода” *Российская газета*. 23rd October 2008.

Appendix 2: List of online examples

Online source 1

Dedushkin1. “Шо?” *LiveJournal*. 1st August 2011
<<http://dedushkin1.livejournal.com/348347.html?page=2>>.

Online source 2

Farg0. “Выживет ли русский язык?” *Sexnarod*. 1st August 2011
<<http://lingvistika.sexnarod.ru/topic137013.html>>.

Online source 3

Olegart. “Англицизмы, вечная тема.” *LiveJournal*. 1st August 2011
<<http://olegart.livejournal.com/1342574.html>>.

Online source 4

Sherudilo, Timofei. “А по-русски можно?” *LiveJournal*. 1st August 2011
<<http://timsher.livejournal.com/148211.html>>.

Online source 5

MGA. “#11 Студия подкастера за 20 тыс рублей; HI-FI.” *Rpod*. 1st August 2011
<<http://mga.rpod.ru/20693.html#c43856>>.

Online source 6

Sitnin, Grigorii. “Новости ПодКона 2007, №5.” *Rpod*. 1st August 2011
<<http://gregor-archievr.rpod.ru/22319.html#c46221>>.

Online source 7

Shkaev. “Своего рода Хармс.” *LiveJournal*. 1st August 2011
<<http://shkaev.livejournal.com/431533.html?view=7873965#t7873965>>.

Online source 8

No author. “Untitled.” 1st August 2011
<http://www.nashgorod.ru/autoforum/mob_viewtopic.php?f=71&t=130152&start=25>.

Online source 9

Dirty Heart. “Coldplay, о группе.” *Maximum 103.7 FM*. 1st August 2011
<<http://forum.maxximum.ru/index.php?s=560fa006660a1538fcdc6d910833f6f9&showtopic=71>>.

Online source 10

No author. “Русский язык в СМИ.” *Gramota*. 1st August 2011
<http://www.gramota.ru/lenta/news/8_1609>.

Online source 11

ЙОЖ.. “Про олбанский язык.” *Udaff*. 1st August 2011
<<http://udaff.com/ask/83960.html>>.